

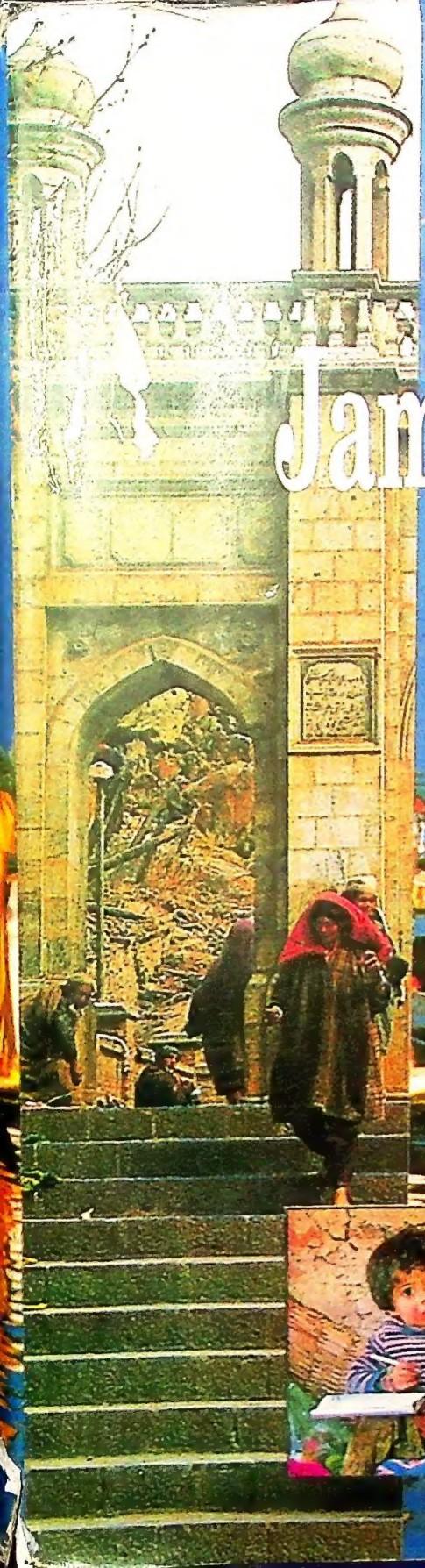
Heritage of Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh



Edited by

Usha Sharma





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HERITAGE OF JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH



Heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh

VOLUME 5

Cultural, Religious and Economic Life of
Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh

Published by :

Radha Publications

4378/4B, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj
New Delhi - 110 002
Phones : 3261839, 3254306

© Editor

First Edition 1996

ISBN 81-7487-064-4

ISBN 81-7487-069-5 (Set)

Printed at :

Tarun Offset Printers, Maujpur, Delhi-110 053
Phone : 2260794

Preface

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has a chequered history which is chronicled in Sanskrit verses in the *Rajatarangini* composed by the celebrated historian Kalhana. He relates the story of Kashmir till the 14th century when Buddhist and Hindu rulers ruled over it. After four centuries of Muslim rule it was conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab in 1819. Soon after his death in 1839 the East India Company defeated the then Sikh ruler of the Punjab who ceded Kashmir to the Company in lieu of Rupees one crore. The Company sold Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh, the Dogra Government of Jammu. The Dogra dynasty ruled over the State till 1949. It may be pointed out that on the transfer of power in 1947, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India, and Ladakh, a part of that State became an integral part of India.

The present volume seeks to provide a detailed narration of—cultural, religious and economic life of these mountainous areas and the magnificent contribution of each of them to the India as a whole.

From ancient times, Kashmir has been famous as a seat of learning. Kalhana places learning as one of the five attributes which gave distinction to the State. "The people of Kashmir" wrote Yuan Chwang, the renowned Chinese traveller who visited the Valley in 631 A. D. " love learning and are well cultured. For centuries, learning has been held in great respect in Kashmir". Later, when during the medieval times Persian was introduced as medium of education and learning, Kashmir acquired fame as the centre of Persian scholarship and was known all over the East as *Iran-i-Saghir* or Little Iran.

The development of Sanskrit language was an important object of special attention with the Kashmiri Pandits. They made important contribution to the study of Vedic literature, grammar and philosophy. Panini's *Astadhyayi* was commenced upon by Patanjali in his *Mahabhasya*. The other names associated with the study of Sanskrit grammar and language are—Chandracharya, Krishnaswami, Jaiditta, Vamana, Bhatta Jagadhara and Kedara Bhatta.

This magnificent land is also famed for the exquisite craftsmanship of its artisans whose skilled hands have produced some of the finest works of arts. They are well-known both within and outside the country for their delicate and splendid products in wood, silver, silk, pashmina etc. These artisans have also earned a name for their matchless works in embroidery and *paper mache*.

However, with the establishment of a popular government after independence, there has been a remarkable resurgence in the field of art and culture. Kashmiri poets and authors have received Sahitya Akademi awards and some artists Lalit Kala Akademi awards. The setting-up of an Academy of Art, Languages and Culture in the State has given a greater impetus to this healthy growth—the sign of Kashmir's material and spiritual progress.

It may also be pointed out that Kashmir had been a great centre of Buddhism and some of the Buddhist Councils were held there. Kashmir became a high school of Mahayana Buddhism during the time of Kanishka and after, and attracted scholars and pilgrims from distant lands who studied the Buddhist texts at the feet of learned Pandits of Kashmir. Kashmiri missionaries travelled to far off places in China, Tibet and Southeast Asia to propagate the Buddhist religion there.

From ancient times, the main occupation of the people of the State has been agriculture. More than 80% of the population of Jammu and Kashmir depend for earning their

living on land, Rice is the staple food of the people in Kashmir Valley. Wheat, maize, barley and rice are the staple food of the people in the Jammu Division. A variety of fruits e.g., apples, pear, walnuts, almonds, saffron, quince, cherry etc. grow in the State. The produce of the various districts of the State differs according to their altitude.

The largest and most important industry under the control of the State is sericulture. The three salient features with regard to sericulture in Kashmir are abundance of mulberry trees, suitable elevation, and favourable climate.

It may also be observed that—to give a fillip to cottage industries, particularly handicrafts—the Government Arts Emporium was set up immediately after independence, the aim of which was to organise handicrafts industry, to introduce new designs and varieties of beauty-cum-utility articles, and most important of all to create and develop new markets. Khadi and Village Industries Commission has also rendered valuable service in the development of handicrafts in the State.

The cultural history of Ladakh can be traced out as the history of civilization of upper Indus Valley area. The cultural wealth and objects of art found in Ladakh do not belong to any single phase of its history.

Ladakhi is the predominant language of the people of Ladakh. According to the great linguist G. A. Grierson, it belongs to the Tibeto-Himalayan group. However, same type of Ladakhi is not spoken all over the region and there are local variations. There are sub-dialects of Ladakhi viz. the Sham dialect, Leh dialect and the Roong dialect. The difference between these dialects is only of pronunciation. The other spoken languages are—Balti, Budhi, Tibetan, Kashmir, and Brokla etc.

The traditional arts of Ladakh are carpet-weaving, carpet embroidery painting, sculpturing and calligraphy etc. Pattoos, blankets, socks etc. are also woven. Most of the Ladakhi

families have loom at their homes. The Ladakhis are skilled in wood-carving also. There are wooden images at many monasteries. It is interesting to note that of various handicrafts produced by the Ladakhis, face-masks are important which depict different divinities as well as evil spirits.

Ladakh has a wealth of folk-lore and folk-songs. They are known for their intense love, emotion and simplicity. Also, they throw light on their belief in religion and their gods.

The Ladakhis are also very much religious minded. The monasteries constitute the pillars of society. The religious festivals are, therefore, important to the people of Ladakh. These monasteries which are repositories of the cultural heritage of Ladakh, contain the rarest manuscripts, precious images, invaluable mural paintings etc. Undoubtedly, they are the centre of religious and social life of the people. The people require the services of monks and lamas for their various ceremonies from birth to death.

The economic life of the people of Ladakh as determined by its topography and geographical features is essentially of a primitive, static and improgressive type. The economy of the region is predominantly agricultural and more than 90% of the population lives on it.

The material for this volume has been collected from a number of sources scattered in various libraries/institutions. Undoubtedly, I feel much beholden to the authorities and staff of these libraries/institutions which have been consulted by me during the completion of this work.

Dated: 23 May, 1996

Editor

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Introduction

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the largest states of the Indian Union. It is situated between 32° 17' and, 36° 58' north latitude, and 73° 26' and 83° 30' east longitude. It covers an area of 22,22,236 sq. km. It has boundaries extended to Russian Turkistan in north, Tibet is east, Punjab in south and Pakistan in west. It includes, besides the celebrated Valley, the areas of Jammu, Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar. It is mostly mountainous, rising in several tiers from the plains in the south to the high altitude valleys and peaks in the north, and enclosing some of the loftiest inhabited helmets in the world.

The State has a chequered history which is chronicled in Sanskrit verses in the *Rajatarangini* (literary the "River of Kings"). Dr. Stein, an eminent Oriental scholar said that "Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history reaching back beyond the period of the Muhammadan conquest and deserving the name of real chronicles".

Kalhana relates the story of Kashmir till the 14th century when Buddhist and Hindu rulers ruled over it. After four centuries of Muslim rule it was conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab in 1819. Soon after his death in 1839, the East India Company defeated the then Sikh ruler of Punjab who ceded Kashmir to the Company in lieu of Rupees one crore. The Company sold Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh, the Dogra Government of Jammu. The Dogra dynasty ruled over the state till 1949. However, on the transfer of power in 1947, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India, and Ladakh, a part of that State became an integral part of India.

Kashmir has been famous as a seat of learning. "The people of Kashmir" wrote Yuan Chwang, the renowned Chinese traveller who visited the Valley in 631 A. D. "love learning and are well cultured. For centuries, learning has been held in great respect in Kashmir". Later, when during the medieval times Persian was introduced as medium of education and learning, Kashmir acquired fame as a centre of Persian scholarship and was known all over the East as *Iran-i-Saghir* or Little Iran.

The State, no doubt, has been a land of unrivalled beauty and charm. Its snow-capped mountains, green valleys, fresh water lakes, springs and countless streams etc. have always an enchanting attraction for tourists. This superbly beautiful land abounds in a variety of delicious fruits. The luxuriant gardens grow flowers of a number of colours and of varying fragrance. Its scenic beauty, rich vegetation and abundant water resources have turned it into a paradise for tourists.

This magnificent land is also famed for the exquisite craftsmanship of its artisans whose skilled hands have produced some of the finest works of arts. They are well-known both within and outside the country for their delicate, and splendid products in wood, silver, silk, pashmina etc. These artisans have earned their name for matchless works in embroidery and *paper mache*.

It may be observed that the State owing to its strategic and unique position has become an important issue in Indian and international politics today.

Heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, seeks to provide a detailed account of the history, geography travels, political development and economic life of these mountainous areas—Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh, and the magnificent contributions of each of them to the India as a whole.

The material for these volumes has been culled from a number of sources which are lying at numerous institutions/

libraries. I feel much beholden to the authorities and staff of all these institutions/libraries consulted by me during the completion of this project. I am also thankful to all those whose contributions have been included in these volumes.

Dated: 23 May, 1996

Editor



1

Kashmir—The Meeting Ground of Different Cultures of India

*By
Jawaharlal Nehru*

"Nearly four years ago, when we were both together in Naini Central Prison, Ranjit Pandit told me of his intention to translate Kalhana's Rajatarangini. I warmly encouraged him to do so and saw the beginnings of this undertaking. We came out of prison and went back later and so, in and out, and mostly in, we have spent the last four years. But we were kept in different gaols and many high walls and iron gates separated us, and I was unable to follow the progress of the translation. It turned out to be a much vaster undertaking than I had imagined and I was glad that the translator persevered with his work in spite of the difficulties and delays inseparable from a residence in gaol.

"It was Ranjit Pandit's wish, in those early days when he began the translation, that it should be introduced to the public by a preface on a foreword from my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Indeed one of the reasons which led him to translate this ancient story of our old homeland was to enable my father to read it, for he knew no Sanskrit. But that was not to be, and now I am told that, in his absence, the duty of writing that foreword devolves upon me. I must play the substitute however poorly qualified I may be for the task.

"It is for scholars and learned men to appraise and judge this translation. That is not my task. I feel a little overwhelmed by the ability, learning and tremendous industry that Ranjit Pandit has put into this work. It was a work worth doing. Nearly half a century ago, Mr. S. P. Pandit wrote of the Rajatarangini that it was "the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history." Such a book must necessarily have importance for every student of old Indian history and culture.

"It is a history and it is a poem, though the two perhaps go ill together, and in a translation especially we have to suffer for this combination. For we cannot appreciate the music of the poetry, the charm of Kalhana's noble and melodious language, only the inexactitude and the extravagant conceits remain. The translator has preferred a literal rendering, sometimes even at the cost of grace of language, I think he has chosen rightly for in work of this kind exactitude is necessary.

"Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years, but the early part is brief and vague and sometime, fanciful, and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of medieval times and often enough it is not pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy, and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main it is a story of the kings and royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk-indeed the very name is the 'River of Kings'.

"And yet Kalhana's book is something far more than a record of kings' doings. It is a rich storehouse of information, political, social and to some extent economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty unto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal amours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens.

Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in councils and the fields as leaders and soldiers.

"Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Meghavahana's curious attempt to spread nonviolence also by conquest; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

"It was a time when the old economic system was decaying, the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been the meeting-ground of the different cultures of Asia, the western Greco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian; but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions.

"And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it as easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. War-lords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—Kalhana describes Kashmir as "a country which delighted in insurrection!" — and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough because of its mountain fastnesses to withstand and repulse Mahmud of Ghazni, the great conqueror, who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and built up an empire in Central Asia. It was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external conquest

but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim official of the last Hindu ruler, Queen Kota.

"I have read this story of olden times with interest because I am a lover of Kashmir and all its entrancing beauty; because, perhaps, deep down within me and almost forgotten by me, there is something which stirs at the call of the old homeland from where we came long, long ago; and because I cannot answers that call as I would, I have to content myself with dreams and fantasies, and I revisit the glorious valley girt by the Himalayan snows through books and cold print. As I write this my vision is limited by high walls that seem to close in upon me and envelop me and the heat of the plains oppresses me. But Kalhana enabled me to overstep these walls and forget the summer heat, and to visit that land of the Sun God "where realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear the heat, the hotrayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness in summer, where dawn first appears with a golden radiance on the eternal snows and, in the evening, "the daylight renders homage to the peaks of the towering mountains" where in the valley below, the lazy sleepy Vitastha winds slowly through smiling fields and richly-laden fruit trees, and creeps under the lordly chenars, and passes through still lakes covered with lotus blooms, and then wakes up and rushes down the gorges to the plains of the Punjab below. Man has sunk low there is his poverty but nature remains cruel and unfeeling, yet soft and smiling to the eye and the senses. "The joy of plunging into the Ganga is not known to those who reside in the sandy deserts," writes Kalhana; how can the dwellers in the plains know of the joys of the mountains, and especially of this jewel of Asia, situated in the heart of that mighty continent?

"The translator has used, as he should, the scholar's method of transcription for Sanskrit names and words. He must forgive me if, being a layman, I do not fancy this, and so, with all apologies to the International Congress of Orientalists, I propose to continue to write Sanskrit and

Krishna and not Samskrta or Krsna. I do not like an old friend to develop an alien look, and what seem to be five consonants all in a bunch are decidedly foreign and strange-looking to me.

"It is not for me to congratulate the translator, who is both my brother-in-law and a dear comrade, but I should like to commend especially his valuable notes and appendices."

(Introduction dated June 28, 1934 in Rajatarangini: The Saga of the Kashmir Kings by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit)

From Cultural Past to the Front

By
J.K. Banerji

We were in a small village near Badgam—a town not far from Srinagar. The villagers had come round and squatted on what may be called the village green or the nearest approach to it. Not all were present because it was in the middle of the day and there was work to be done in the fields. Nevertheless, there was a fair attendance; and the audience if it lacked in numbers made it up by the quality of their presence. It was an interesting and interested gathering.

Agrarian Revolution Dramatised

What had brought the peasants from their work in the fields to come and squat on the village green was the arrival without notice from Srinagar of the dramatic party of the Cultural Front. The Cultural Front created immediately after Kashmir's invasion has set itself the task of awakening the Kashmiri masses from their age long mental torpor born of poverty, illiteracy and oppression, so that they could help transform their country from a backward medieval state into a progressive, secular democracy or perhaps into socialism.

The theme of the play is the social system in Kashmir where landlords, no matter whether Hindu or Muslim, live on the labours of the peasants. As I watched with what rapt attention the audience followed the story of the peasants in

the drama who at first passive victims of exploitation ended up as rebels at the impact of National Conference agitation, I could not help being struck by the stupendous break of new Kashmir with the Kashmir of yesterday. And as I watched also some foreign journalists going round and round the audience "shooting" with their cameras held at various angles, I was reminded of the importance of Kashmir's present international role.

The Kashmiri people, ignorant and illiterate as their Indian brothers, are already being "educated" in the hard school of national and social struggle at a rate faster than in any school that might be built for them by a benevolent government. The social reality that is being unfolded before their eyes by the Cultural Front with the help of living drama and song played and sung by people—boys and girls—who almost without exception has taken up arms when the raiders were at the doors of Srinagar is only accelerating this process of living education.

Dual Source Of Culture

However, Kashmiris are culturally still very backward. In fact, their country is generally considered as one of the most backward spots in the Indian subcontinent. Yet, this beautiful country is the inheritor of a tremendous cultural past of which one does not generally suspect in India. And this rich cultural heritage—one of the richest in India—possesses an added interest in being a perfect example of the synthesis of two different religious-cultural currents Hindu-Sanskrit and Muslim-Persian—both participating in and mutually contributing to the common end-product.

History of Kashmir like that of India proves that people prospered and suffered not according to whether the ruler was Hindu or Muslim, but according to whether he was good or bad. Culture too prospered or suffered according to whether the ruler or the ruling caste was its friend or foe. Indeed, one can say that the complete drying up of culture during the

Pathan, Sikh and the British-sponsored Dogra rules is the most damning proof of their rottenness.

Hindu kings are supposed to have ruled over Kashmir for over 4,000 years. In his famous work "Raj Tarangini" (River of Kings) the famous historian Kalhana who lived in the first half of the 12th century A.D., has narrated the main episodes of this long period of Kashmir's history when no less than 21 dynasties rose to power and then fell.

Like ancient Indian history much of this narrative is vague and imaginative. But even when one rejects much of what is written by Kalhana and by many other historians like Ratnakara who came before him or Ahmad Alhama—Persian translator of the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata who came after, there are many landmarks whose authenticity is historical and no conjectural.

By the turn of the fourteenth century Kashmir passed under Muslim Sultans among whom the name of Zain-ul-Abidin is worth mentioning. He was tolerant, generous, a lover of arts and learning and it was he who introduced some of the industries such as paper-making, silk and shawl-manufacture which later on made Kashmir famous.

The Mughal rule which began at the end of the 16th century with Akbar's conquest of Kashmir and lasted upto the middle of the 18th century before Kashmir passed successively into the hands of the Afghans, Sikhs and then the British-sponsored Dogra Rajputs brought stability and prosperity in the land. But it was also the beginning of the end of Kashmir's remarkable cultural past.

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah on the occasions of the opening of the Kashmir University in November recalled Kashmir's dual heritage of Sanskrit and Persian culture. How true it is! Because whatever may be the inaccuracies in Kashmir's past political history, there cannot be any doubt about the remarkable achievements of Kashmir's cultural past.

had not been brought to its unhappy but logical end by the British by permeating the whole country with the poison of communalism.

But in the measure Kashmir becomes secular, in the measure the seeds of universal culture taking root in the soil of the land give primacy to social values over religious ones in the collective life of the people, in the same measure cultural treasures of the past will tend to lose their religious stamp and appear before the eyes of the new generation not as Hindu-Sanskrit or Muslim-Persian but just Kashmiri. In this process of secularization of culture the activities of the Cultural Front should be of the greatest importance.

No Revivalism Please!

Harking back to old culture can not help the Kashmiri masses in making Kashmir modern and prosperous. Kashmir's Prime Minister expressed the hope on the occasion of the inauguration of the Jammu and Kashmir University that the new institution will aid the growth of real democracy in the country by bringing the benefits of scientific learning of the common man.

It is perfectly true that in the years lying ahead Kashmir will require more engineers, doctors, social workers, administrators, technicians than let us say, research workers in Sanskrit or Persian.

But man does not live by bread alone. Indeed, it is not an accident that Sheikh Abdulla added, in his inaugural speech, humanistic learning to the list of objectives of the new University. In the scheme of things of new Kashmir, crisp blue prints of technical projects will not be its only source of culture. Motheaten old manuscripts will be as highly appreciated.

3

Cultural Heritage

By
G. L. Kaul

The culture of Kashmir sprang from Aryans and was influenced during the course of history by Jews, Greeks, Turks, Chinese, Muslims and what not. Writes Arthur Neve "Ancient India had nothing more worthily of its early civilization than the grand remains of Kashmir." Says Kalhana "Kashmiris were called Shestrashilpira, *i.e.*, architects." Kashmir is a fusion of cultures and languages. The principal cultural division of the State are — (a) Dugar (b) Ladakh (c) Baltistan (d) Gilgit or the land of Dards (e) Mirpur-Poonch-Muzaffarabad (f) Valley of Kashmir. About thirteen languages and dialects are spoken in this area, chief being Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Ladakhi and Dardi. The ancient script of Dogri was Takri and of Kashmiri Sharda. Kashmir shared fame as an important seat of learning and culture with Nalanda and Taxila. Kashmiri literature combines in itself Persian and Sanskrit traditions and Islamic and Hindu philosophies. A Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Baha-ud-Din put up during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah in 1484 indicates that both Sanskrit and Persian were in use. A birch bark document in Sharda and Persian characters pertaining to Sheikh Makhdom Hamza, a Muslim saint of Kashmir, about 500 years old, reflects the Kashmiri's catholicism of outlook.

The earliest specimen of Kashmiri literature is Mahayney Prakash of Rajnakesiti Kanthe. Lala Ded who lived in the

14th century A.D. expressed herself as a link between the classical Sanskrit traditions of the past and the Persian poetic patterns of later period. Munshi Bhawani Dass Kachroo was as great a Persian writer as Mohammad Tahir Gani. Jangnama by Taba Ram Turki stands on the same footing as Shahnama of Firdous. Rajkau Arzbeg's diary and Rajkak Dhar's Farrukh have a place in local literature . Persian tales of "Farhad and Shirin" and "Yusuf and Zulaikha" did inspire folklore but love-lyrics of "Bumbru and Lolare", "Himal and Nagrai" and "Bulbul and Myna" are very rich synthesis of romantic fancy and legend, purely indigenous. Gulrez of Pir Maqbool Shah Kralwari, Shahnama of Wahab Parey and Sudama Charita of Parmanand are also notable. Among the modern writers are Abdul Ahad Azad, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, Ghulam Hassan Arif, Dina Nath Nadim, Noor Moohammad Roshan, Ali Mohammad Lone, Amin Kamil, Shamim-Ahmad Shamin and Master Zinda Kaul. They do not only inspire but make the language. Lala Ded represents Kashmiri language and religious system of the fourteenth century influenced by Islamic thought and culture. Her spiritual preceptor was Sidh Bey. She became a devout follower of Trika Philosophy. Besides she mastered Shat-chakras. Her poetry denounces rituals and welcome all castes and creeds. Hindu sahdus and sanyasis influenced Muslim masses as much as did Muslim sheikhs and pirs Hindu masses. The product of this cultural fusion was Nur-ud-Din (Sahajanand) of Tsrar Sharif popularly known as Nund Rishi. Lala Ded and Shiekh Nur-ud-Din were followed by Haba Khatun and Urinimal, famous for Lol lyrics. Nearly two centuries after Haba Khatun came Urinimal, came the literary scene. There is more of pathos and tragedy in her songs.

The mystic and philosophic not is missing from the modern Kashmiri literature which opens with a fresh and free outlook on national and cultural life. This represented by Mahjoor and Azad. The later was inspired by Rasool Mir. He expressed himself against injustice, intolerance and suppression. Side by side Daya Ram Ganjoo and Masterji strike

a different note. Asad Ullah Mir, Lachman Bhat Nagam, Nand Lal Ambardar and Abdul Wahab Hajin belong to the early phase of modern Kashmiri poetry. Abdul Sattar Gujri Aasi is a proletarian poet. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment in "quit Kashmir" movement for his poem 'Siasi Qidi'. Dina Nath Nadim gives a socialistic message. Roshan's Ashq and Zutshi's Vijwan attracted attention.

Folk tales have their own place in literature. Folk music is traced to tenth century. Chhakri came from Afghanistan about 400 years ago. Soofiana Mausiqi came from Iran and has come down from man to man (unwritten). There are references that music had attained perfection in the time of Jaloka whose queen also danced. "Zohra Khatun and Haya Band", Gulala Shah, Wazirmal, Lalmal, Shah Sayar, Sheshman are very well-known. There are also ballads like Sudamacharita, Radha Swoyamvara and Shivalagan. The Kashmiri muse sings through folklore, fresh and chaste. Ruff and Chhakri are the heritage of Kashmir's dynamic past and spirit of beauty around. Harvest season, wedding season, sowing season and long winter nights are occasions of drama and music. Kashmiri music and drama may be traced to books like Sangitaculamani, Swaimatrika and Kutmmabalam. Soofiana kalam (classical) is derived from Soofism. The instruments accompanying the music are Saz, Santoor, Sitar and Dholak. Whether it is music or poetry, drama or painting, art or architecture, love or romance, the inspiration comes from Kongposh and Pamposh which dance and sing with moon and stars. "Cultural cosmopolitanism and cultural synthesis of the Kashmir literary tradition may be traced to the second century A.D. Kashmiri literature characteristics have synthesized almost all cultural and religious traditions of India as manifested by Kashmiri poetry. The synthesis left an impact on contemporary Kashmiri thinking and living where various religious practices were mingled. The literary tradition of Kashmir was best represented in and described by two mythical images which were generally believed to have found currency in the second or fifth century A.D. One of them

particularly reflected the relationship between Kashmir and the rest of the Indian mainland in an image (not statue-of Vishnu on a lotus flower). In this particular image India is depicted by the body and Kashmir by the halo. Identical images have been found in the Nilgiris. Among the first notable work on Kashmir is Kalhana's Rajtarangini, a factual and unpretentious account of conditions in Kashmir during his time in which the author has explained the reason for ready absorption of cultures and religious traditions in Kashmir when in his references to Buddhism he proclaimed—we are not to argue with Buddhists. We are not to argue with those who differ from us. Roughly in fourteenth century Ismaili philosophy made its appearance in Kashmir following the Muslim invasion. The Kashmiris, according to the chronicler Balakshah, rejoiced in the return of a mystic system to their tradition. It was not till the 13th century, however, that a truly Kashmiri literature arose with the legendary poetess—Lalla Arifa. Her poems are still recited in all parts of Kashmir and retained their original freshness and surprisingly enough had retained their original forms despite the fact that they had been recited original forms despite the fact that they had been recited by professional Muslim minstrels for over 500 years. Some original texts reveal that even archaic forms of expression were retained. Kashmir Advaita Shaivism influenced Ismaili literature in Badakhshan, whether or not Shaiva Manuscripts followed or preceded a Kashmir invasion of the immediate west. Advaita Shaiva texts and Persian Ismaili texts of Badakhshan could provide much material”

—(Nila Cram Crook).

Under the auspices of the State Academy of Arts and Culture a Kashmiri dictionary in Persian script was attempted claiming larger collection of words than Grierson's which was based on the material collected by Ishwar Kaul, a well known scholar. The first grammar of the Kashmiri language was published in 1886 by Rev: T.R. Wade. History of Kashmiri literature by Abdul Ahad Azad was compiled in three volumes. Translation of 'Nilamatpurana' by Dr. Ked Ghai is a

valuable contribution. Jagan Nath Sheopuri's and Abdul Aziz's note book on soofiana music will carry forward this type of music which is an off-shoot of Indo-Iranian culture.

Mystics of Kashmir

1. Grata Baba
2. Sumbali Baba
3. Madrasi Baba
4. Mathra Devi
5. Paltu Shah
6. Akram Saib
7. Lakhman Ji
8. Nand Ram
9. Gupa Joo
10. Hari Ram
11. Mirak Shah
12. Nand Lal
13. Lasa Saib
14. Zaina Machi

They are guarding the spiritual frontiers of Kashmir.



4

Cultural Units and Languages

The State is composed of three cultural regions - Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir Valley. The official language of the State is Urdu but Article 145 of the State's Constitution provides that English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes in the State. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution recognises Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti (Pali), Dardi, Punjabi, Pahari and Ladakhi as regional languages. An Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages has been set up to afford opportunities for the development of Art and Culture and for the development of Hindi, Urdu and other regional languages in the State.

Population

The total population of the State according to the census of 1941 was 40,21,615. Due to abnormal circumstances no census was conducted in Jammu and Kashmir State in 1950-51. With the restoration of normalcy and political stability census operations were conducted in the State in 1960-61 along with the other States of the country. The population of Jammu and Kashmir State excluding Pak and Chinese-occupied territory, as per provisional figures released by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Jammu and Kashmir, is estimated at 35,83,585 as against 29,48,106 of 1941 census, resulting in an increase of 6,35,479 in the population.

On the Indian side of the cease-fire line, there has been an increase of 21.5 per cent during last 20 years or 10.75 per

cent per decade. The corresponding increase between 1931 and 1941 was 10.3 per cent. The maximum and minimum growth of population have been recorded in the Doda and Poonch Districts respectively. In Doda District, the increase has been 16.95 per cent and in Poonch 0.63 per cent on an average for a period of 10 years. In the Ladak District increase in population has shot up from 1.7 per cent in 1941 to 15.7 per cent during the last two decades. The decennial increase of 7.85 per cent appears to be due to the abolition of polyandry and return of Kashmiri Muslim refugees from Tibet.

The population of Srinagar city which has been included in Srinagar District stood at 2,07,787 in 1941. The corresponding figure for the present census is 2,84,753 showing an increase of 76,906 or 37.4 per cent in 20 years and 18.52 per cent in 10 years. The population of Jammu City which has been included in Jammu District stood at 50,379 in 1941. The population recorded at the present census stands at 1,08,562 resulting in an increase of 58,183 or 115.5 per cent in 20 years and 57.75 per cent in 10 years.

Literacy

According to 1960-61 census there are 3,81,753 literate persons in the State giving a literacy percentage of 10.6 as against 6.9 of 1941. The cities of Jammu and Srinagar claim largest number of literate persons, the literacy percentage being 44.8 in the case of Jammu City and 23.84 so far as Srinagar City is concerned. The highest literacy percentage among districts has also been recorded in the districts of Jammu and Srinagar where it stands respectively at 18.6 and 13.97.

The literacy percentage is lowest in the districts of Anantnag, Baramulla, Ladakh and Poonch where it ranges from 7.36 to 7.76. The literacy percentage of the Jammu Province is estimated at 11.90 as against 9.63 of the Kashmir Province including Ladakh. Among males, Jammu and Srinagar cities have largest number of literate persons, the percentage being 50.46 and 32.36 respectively. Excluding the

two cities, the percentage of male literates in these two districts is estimated at 24.72 and 19.91 respectively. The lowest percentage of male literates had been returned from Baramulla District where it is estimated at 12.49 only. The corresponding percentages for female literates are 35.99 and 14.1 respectively. The number of female literates in the districts of Ladakh, Baramulla, Doda and Poonch is comparatively much smaller, the literacy percentage being 0.87, 1.48, 1.73 and 1.98 respectively.

The literacy figures are likely to improve further rapidly during the next decade as a sequence to the policy of universalisation of education adopted by the Government.

To tackle the problem of backwardness of education, educational opportunities have expanded at a fast pace since the dawn of Independence. The Educational Budget in 1947-48 was only Rs. 33.49 lakhs which has now shot upto Rs. 250 lakhs. Education in Kashmir is a State enterprise and since 1953 free education has been introduced in the State from the Primary upto the Post - Graduate courses of instruction. The number of educational institutions since the beginning of the First Plan has increased by 100 per cent and by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan no village in the State will without a school.

During the Second Plan period, education in Jammu and Kashmir made big strides and the whole structure and content of Primary and Secondary education has been reorganised. In the First Plan period the Government established five Colleges, three Post-Matric Training Schools, 29 High Schools, 48 Middle Schools, 76 Central Schools, 30 Lower High Schools, 59 Primary Schools and 90 Maktabs and Pathshalas. By 1960-61 the number of colleges in the State rose to 13 Higher Secondary Schools to 24, High Schools to 160, Middle Schools to 583, Primary Schools to 2,852 and the Post-Matric Training Schools to 12. During this period the enrolment in these institutions rose from 2,10,256 to 2,67,586.

Primary Education in the State extends for a period of five years from the age of six. In the Third Five-Year Plan it is contemplated to universalise primary education for the age groups 6-11 as is envisaged in other States of the Indian Union. Primary education in Jammu and Kashmir is steadily undergoing a change over to the basic pattern. In 1948 the State had only 1,190 Primary Schools with 65,000 pupils. Now it has 2,852 such schools with 1,97,000 pupils on their rolls. Secondary and Collegiate Education, too, have expanded appreciably since 1948. Expenditure on these have risen from Rs. 28.27 lakhs to Rs. 111.00 lakhs.

To give technical bias to the educational system two Industrial Training Institutions have been started in the State in accordance with the approved pattern of the Government of India. Instructions in different trades like smithy, carpentry, weaving, willow works, motor mechanics and electricians courses are being imparted in these institutions. Deserving students who join these institutions are being granted scholarships. The intake capacity of these institutions in different trades is 328. One Polytechnic and one Engineering College have also been established at Srinagar. Two Agricultural Colleges one at Sopore and the other at R.S. Pora have also been opened from the current academic session.

To cope with the growing requirements of manpower, that is an obvious necessity for any scheme of universal Primary Education, The Government have set up a net-work of Post-Matric Training Schools. The Education Department has also chalked out an ambitious construction programme. The Department has spent about Rs. 40 lakhs in the Second Plan period on construction of school buildings. For the current year the Government have sanctioned Rs. 7.00 lakhs for this purpose. In due course the Government proposes to provide for all State educational institutions their own buildings.

In the National System of Education the State of Jammu and Kashmir is forging ahead with its policy of free education and the State is progressively eradicating illiteracy and

dispelling ignorance from among the masses. The Multiphased programme of education reconstruction includes;

- (a) Opening of Activity Basic Schools;
- (b) Conversion of Primary Schools into Basic Schools;
- (c) Setting up of separate Mobile and Audio-Visual Units in all parts of Jammu and Kashmir;
- (d) Conducting of refresher courses for in service teachers;
- (e) Opening of Post-Matric Training Schools;
- (f) Upgrading of Primary Schools to Middle Schools;
- (g) Upgrading of Middle Schools to High Schools;
- (h) Improvement of Secondary Schools by strengthening staff;
- (i) Conversion of High Schools into Higher Secondary Schools;
- (j) Improvement of Colleges by providing additional and sufficient staff;
- (k) Expansion of inspectorate by strengthening the Inspectional Agency;
- (l) Setting up of District Libraries;
- (m) Opening of Polytechnics and Engineering Institutes;
- (n) Provision of Youth Welfare Schemes; and
- (o) Construction of school and college buildings.

The Women's Education has also made considerable headway in Jammu and Kashmir. In 1948-49 the State has 215 Primary Schools, 49 Middle Schools and only eight High Schools for girls whereas today we possess 514 Primary Schools, 71 Middle Schools, 36 High Schools, three Colleges and two Teachers Training Schools for female education.

Library movement in the State is also receiving due consideration from the Government. Besides the school, college and public libraries, district libraries have been set up. In addition to free education the Education Department gives liberal scholarships to poor and deserving students. During the Second Five-Year Plan the Government granted scholarships to about 10,000 students for prosecuting their studies in schools and colleges.

To promote the welfare of teachers for the first time in the history of the State the Department of Education has prepared a draft of the Jammu and Kashmir Educational Code. A teachers' welfare fund has also been instituted. To enhance efficiency of teachers and vitalise instructions imparted in the schools, the Department has set up Audio-Visual units, one in the Jammu province and the other in the Kashmir province. These units are equipped with a Mobile Library, Educational charts and Recording apparatus.

To supply standard text-books to students in the schools the Government have set up a separate Department of Research and Publications. This department prepares text-books for primary and middle classes and since last two years printing of text-books is being undertaken by Government Presses. The total volume of this work in 1960-61 involved printing of 8,16,24,000 pages giving a net yield of 5,48,500 books in Persian, Devnagri and Roman scripts. In addition to this work, the Government Presses also undertook printing of 5,48,500 title covers in multi-colours and printing of pictures and maps totalling 9,41,500. As a result of economy effected in the expenditure on production of text-books, relief has been provided to scholars by a general reduction of the sale prices of these books.

An all-round system of education must cater to the needs of the head, heart, hand and health. Physical and Health Educational form an integral part of the State's educational system. Youth rallies, holiday camps, healthy inter and intra-college and school sports competitions, NCC, ACC and

Scouting form a regular feature of Education in the State. To encourage such activities a Sports Stadium has been constructed in Srinagar at a cost of Rs. 17.00 lakhs. A similar stadium is under construction at Jammu.

Main Occupation and Staple Food

Agriculture is the mainstay of the State's economy. More than 80 per cent of the population of Jammu and Kashmir depend for earning their living on land. Rice is the staple food of the people in Kashmir Valley. Wheat, maize, barley and rice are the staple food of the people in the Jammu province. Varieties of fruits grow in the State, viz. apples, pear, walnuts, almonds, saffron, quince, cherry, etc. The produce of the various districts of the State differs according to their altitude.

(Kashmir Today)

5

The Origin of Dogri

*By
Hans Raj Sharma*

Dogri is one of the major languages of Jammu and Kashmir State and is recognised as such by its constitution. Actually it is spoken by a larger number of people than any other language of the State. For, it is also the medium of expression, with varying dialects, of a region outside the State.

The area covered by the Shivalik ranges of the north west Himalayas, bordering the undivided Punjab in the shape of a crescent moon is inhabited by Thakkar, Kinnar, Gujar and Dogra communities. Takkadesh, Jammu, Himachal and Trigart are some of its oldest names, references to which are found in ancient books like the Mahabhatta. Dogri is the principal and most advanced language of this area and is primarily a Pahari language. Some authorities, however, consider it an independent offshoot of the Shourseni family of Prakrits.

Pahari languages cover a vast tract from Nepal to Poonch around the foot of the Himalayas. Mr. Baines was the first to christen them as Pahari and classify them into three broad groups. Eastern Pahari is the language of Nepal and is known as Gorkhali or Khashkura. The central groups comprises Gharwali and Kumaoni. The Western Pahari group of languages, the third in the series, are spoken by people between Jaunsar-Bawar area in Dehradun and Poonch tehsil

of Jammu. They also penetrate plains of the Punjab to the extent of five to twenty-five miles.

With Gharwali in the east and Tibeto-Burman languages in the north this region is isolated on its western side by the Pir Panchal from Paishachi and Dard family of languages of which Kashmiri is an important member. On its south west is the area of Lehnda language with its dialects like Chibali, Puthoari etc. Down south is the standard Punjabi while in south east it is confronted with western Hindi in Ambala District. The tract thus bounded includes Jaunsar-Bewar, most of former Simla Hill States, Kangra-Kulu Valley, mountainous parts of Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur districts of Punjab and the Jammu province of Kashmir State. The scope of Dogri-speaking region somewhat extended includes Zaffarwal and Kergarh tehsils of West Pakistan and Illaqa Bajwat of the Sialkot tehsil.

The Sub-languages of Western Pahari can be further classified as under.

Northern frontier dialects—Jaunsari, Bhadarwai Sirmauri, Keonthli, etc.

Central dialects—standard Dogri (Chamyal, Kangri and Bilaspuri and Gurdaspuri).

Southern Border dialects—mixed Dogri (Kandyali, Bhateali and Gurdaspuri).

Dogri, with its various dialects, has thus a distinct entity. The Dogri-Pahari area is as big as 33,000 square miles with a population of about five million. The inhabitants of this area belong to some very ancient tribes. The oldest of them are Khash and Takk. Gujars are believed to have come a bit latter. The Rajputs, who comprise most of the chieftains and rulers of the area, immigrated from Rajasthan—Mewar and Marwar—and their story is not older than four centuries. There is also evidence of the fact that Brahmins of the Uttar Pradesh and Kshatris of Bengal and Punjab and Arorvanshis of Multan

came to settle in the area. Some people of the Tibetan stock, too, descended southward to adopt it as their home. These diverse communities made their own contribution in the evolution of a common language and culture of the region.

For our present purpose it will suffice to look upon these Takka-Gujar-Dagors (Dogras) as the original inhabitants of this vast sub-mountain tract, conquered and assimilated by Rajput immigrants from the South, who probably were their distant blood relations. For, Dr. R.D. Bhandarkar is of the view that Gujars first inhabiting Shivalik areas were anointed by Brahmins as Kshatriyas on the virtue of their Kshatra Dharma. In this guise they clamped down on Rajasthan and founded the States of Rajputana and emerged as Rajputs. Their pastoral brethren, who stayed behind, embraced Islam. Many of the fighter Gujars Rajputs, who were now a house divided and had not given in to Islam, fled back to lower Himalayas, their former abode, and were successful in carving out states for themselves, there too. Throughout these hills, the former ruling classes claim to be Rajputs and record their descent from Rajputana and other Rajput clans. Sirmouris claim to have migrated from Jaisalmer in 1095 A.D. while chieftains of Baghal and Bija are said to have originally belonged to Ujjain. So are many of the Rajputs of Nepal, Jammu and Kangra. Rulers of Mandi, Suket and Keonthal are known to be immigrants from Bengal in 13 A.D. The Rajas of Bashar traces their origin to Benares. The rulers of Chamba, above all, claim direct descent from the land of Rama—the Oudh in the 6 A.D.

This influx of immigrants from Aryavart into the land of Vahikas dwelling in the mid-Himalayas explains the existence of a larger number of Dogri dialects.

We commission the term Dogri-Pahari to represent this whole group of Western Pahari sub-languages. On its own merits, too, Dogri had of late acquired a position to be entitled to full-fledged language. It takes its name from Dogar or Duggar, the title of the sub-mountain position of Jammu

province, Kangra-Kulu Valley and Himachal Pradesh. The word Dogar, according to one version, is said to have originated from the Sanskrit word Dwigarat—the land of two hollows or pits viz. Saroinsar and Mansar, not far from Jammu. This is obviously too narrow a definition for the Dogri speaking area. Moreover this derivation does not stand the philological tests. On the contrary, the ancient name of the land, according to Stein, appears to be Durgara. Some authorities doubt this origin also and are of the opinion that Dogra is a corruption of Rajasthani word 'dungar' for hills and that when Rajputs forced their way northwards, they gave this name to the hilly country.

There is perhaps yet another more logical root of the word Dogra emanating from the Greek record of the ancient India. The well known Greek astrologer Ptolemy, who flourished in 105 A.D., referred to a kingdom in the Shivalik whose inhabitants have been named by St. Martin as Dagors or Dangors. Duggar, Durgar referred to by Stein or Dwigart of local usage thus seem to be derivations from this ancient word viz. Dagor.

Dogri has an alphabet of its own which is, according to Grierson, allied to the Takkri or Tankri alphabet current in the Punjab Himalayas. Late Maharaja Ranbir Singh made efforts to modify the Takkri characters so as to bring them nearer to Devanagri. Takri alphabet takes its title from Takka, the name of a powerful tribe, once ruler of the Sapadlaksha country (modern Shivalik area) whose capital was Saakala, lately identified by Dr. Fleet as modern Sialkot. Takka-desh was a prospering kingdom when Huien Tsang toured India. In the Chinese accounts of India, Samuel Beal identifies kingdom of Tseh-kia referred to by Huien Tsang as Takka-desh. The people of this country are hospitable, stout and hardy and their language is a bit rough, records the Chinese travellers. So, they are none else but Dogras deriving the title of the script for Dogri from their ancient Takka origin.

Today the land bounded on its north by Shivalik and Pir Panchal stretching east along the great plains is called Dogra land and all who live in it, whether they are Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, whether high born Rajputs or Brahmins, low born Kanets or aboriginal Thakkars, pastoral Gaddis or menials like Dum or Megh, are known as Dogras and have certain common communal characteristics and a common tongue which differentiates them from other people of India.

John Beames, in the outlines of Indian Philology—1866, recognizing the fact that Doghra, as he puts it neither subscribes to Kashmiri nor to Punjabi, places it among the eleven languages of Indic class of Indo-German family.

Again Dr. Siddheshwar Varma is of the view that Dogri is an independent frontier language. He disagrees with Dr. Grierson for treating Dogri as merely a distinct dialect of Punjab.

With its geographical position and racial background, Dogri has been influenced not only by Khash, Paisachi and Dard but also by Gujrati, Rajasthani, Hindi and Punjabi. Such an interaction has, in fact, been going on among all Indian languages and none can boast of perfect purity.

In view of the fact that Dogri-Pahari area forms part of three different administrative and political systems viz. the states of Kashmir, Punjab and Himachal, there is much ignorance about the character of this language. This partly explains its exclusion in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution. On the basis of the facts, described above, it is indeed far fetched to call Dogri as a mere dialect of Punjabi. It is still more fantastic to assume that Kashmiri, included in the Constitution, can represent it in the community of Indian languages.

Dogri can by now take credit of a large amount of written literature—poetry, short stories, dramas etc.—besides a rich heritage of folk literature. Some of its old literature is still available in its own script known as Takri. The Takri script,

though not completely obsolete, is, however, being given up in favour of Devanagri in the interest of national uniformity. Dogri is also being tried as a medium of instruction in the early primary classes in many schools of Jammu.

With its growing maturity, Dogri should not longer be deprived of the opportunity of making its contribution to the literature and culture of the country! It is still not too late to accord it a place in the Indian Constitution and expect our linguists, philologists and literary critics to take note of the trends in this language of a virile and vigorous people of India.

The above study is mainly based on anthropological arguments. On grammatical grounds, too, this contention could be substantiated.

6

Memorandum by VIKALPA (Forum of Emigree Kashmiri Writers)

Adoption and Recognition of Devnagri as an Alternative Script for Kashmiri Language

As everyone knows, one of the prime targets of terrorism in Kashmir has been the Kashmiri ethos or the peculiar Kashmiri sense of values and ideals as represented by Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din and nurtured over the centuries by the saints and the Sufis. With the Kalashnikov culture penetrating every walk of life in Kashmir and terrorists calling all the shots, all literary activity, and, in fact every form of creativity, has been abruptly disrupted, resulting in a stunning silence that has continued for the last three years. One of the most tragic dimensions of the situation is that non-Muslim Kashmiri writers and intellectuals—the whole lot of them and perhaps a few Muslim writers too—have been forced by fundamentalist Muslim insurgents to flee their homes in the Valley together with their entire community. Cut off from their natural soil, these writers are struggling today to save their identity as well as their language as a relevant medium of expression.

In such circumstances, challenges have to be faced squarely and crucial decisions taken without any delusions, for one false step can spell disaster for a culture in exile. It is

in this context that the question of adopting Devnagri as an alternative script for Kashmiri has assumed supreme importance. The officially recognised Perso-Arabic script was adopted as a compromise to placate Muslim sentiment at the cost of the age old indigenous Sharda script. But this script is no longer suitable in the situation that has emerged, particularly when it will be the diaspora Kashmiris who will form the main audience of the displaced Kashmiri writers in the years to come. Not only is the Perso-Arabic script defective and incapable of rendering Kashmiri sounds correctly, but it is also solely dependent on scribes and calligraphers—a fast dwindling tribe which is likely to become extinct soon even in the Valley. This script, it must be pointed out, has failed to take advantage of even elementary typography, not to speak of advanced technology in the field, with the net result that the number of books published in Kashmiri has been decreasing year after year in direct proportion to the decreasing number of calligraphers.

The adoption of Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri has deprived most of the non-Muslim Kashmiris, especially womenfolk, of the readership of Kashmiri literature, old and new. To benefit this vast section of Kashmiri-speaking people both inside the Valley and outside, a demand was raised in some quarters for allowing the use of Devnagri as an alternative script, but it was met with stiff opposition from fanatical elements among supporters of the Perso-Arabic script on grounds more religious than academic. Strangely, however, these very elements pressed for and succeeded in getting Persian adopted as an alternative script for Dogri and Punjabi in addition to the officially accepted Devnagri and Gurmukhi scripts just to appease a handful of people reluctant to learn the Devnagri or Gurmukhi scripts.

With the onset of the present militancy, none among the known or unknown Kashmiri writers living in the valley has been able to come out with anything in print. The reason for this may be the fear of the terrorists and fundamentalists to a

great extent. But non-availability of skilled calligraphers has also been an important factor.

Paradoxically, it is in areas outside Kashmir Valley where writing in Kashmiri is going on at present. Apart from well known Kashmiri writers who have been forced to migrate from Kashmir, some young and up-coming Kashmiri writers have also appeared on the scene.

Devnagri, in fact, has been in use for writing Kashmiri for a long time now, not only by Kashmiris settled outside the valley during the earlier exoduses, but in the valley itself. Among its prominent protagonists have been people like Pandit Ishwar Kaul who wrote the first Kashmiri grammar and compiled the first Kashmiri dictionary (subsequently edited by Grierson). Professor S.K. Toshakhani who wrote the first Kashmiri novel besides several text books in the script for use in the schools run by the Women's Welfare Trust, and the renowned Kashmiri poet Master Zinda Kaul who was the first Kashmiri writer to have bagged the Sahitya Akademi award. The first Kashmiri drama by Pandit Nand Lal Kaul and the Kashmiri Ramayana as also several other Kashmiri classics have already appeared in the Devnagri script catering to a substantially large readership.

Considering the issue in all aspect, this forum of displaced Kashmir writers, VIKALPA, has come to the conclusion that it is high time that Devnagri was adopted as an alternative script for Kashmiri as a practical necessity dictated by the times and also with a view, to preserving the cultural identity of diaspora Kashmiris of which Kashmiri language forms the most important and inseparable part. To pursue this objective VIKALPA feels it necessary to raise its voice for the fulfilment of the following demands:

1. Recognition of Devnagri as an alternative script for Kashmiri by the State and Central Governments, State and Central Academies, Universities and other official/semi-official bodies.

2. Kashmiri books and manuscripts written in Devnagri script should also be considered by the State and Central Academies for grant of awards, prizes and financial assistance on the basis of their literary merit.
3. In keeping with its policy of encouraging use of Devnagri script for other regional languages also, the Central Government should provide liberal financial assistance to institutions/individuals who will undertake the task of transcribing Kashmiri classics (old and new) into Devnagri script.

7

Memorandum by Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, Jammu Dated July 6, 1992 for Inclusion of Dogri Language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India

The Hon'ble Prime Minister

Home Minister

Members of the Union Cabinet,

Members of Parliament, and

Leaders of Political Parties.

We, the members of the Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, were happy to know from the press reports that your Government has decided to include Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri languages in the VIII Schedule of the country's Constitution. But it is most surprising and shocking that the decades old demand of 50 lakh Dogras for the same seems to have been overlooked.

We crave your indulgence to consider the following points which justify our legitimate demand:

1. Dogri language has already been recognised as one of the official languages of Jammu and Kashmir in

the State's Constitution along with Urdu, Kashmiri and Ladakhi.

2. Dogri is not only spoken by the people of Jammu region but also a sizable population of the present Himachal Pradesh and Punjab.
3. Dogri has since 1969 been recognised by the Sahitya Akademi which has already honoured 22 of its litterateurs, thereby recognizing the rich literary heritage of the Dogras.
4. Dogri culture and rich art heritage are reflected in the Basohli and Kangra schools of Miniature Paintings and Terracottas of Ambaran (Akhnoor) which are famous and are found in museums all over the world.
5. Dogri language has its own grammar, dictionary and books on its own history.
6. It was recognition of the impact and reach of Dogri language over a vast area that the Government of India thought it fit to start news bulletins in this language from all India Radio immediately after Pakistan's attack on J&K State in 1947.
7. Dogri is being taught in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at Secondary and Senior Secondary School level, and up to Post Graduate level at the Jammu University.
8. The Dogras have sacrificed their lives and property for the defence of India. The Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and Dogra Regiments of the Indian Army have brought glory to the country, have proved their bravery and chivalry in the two World Wars and the four Wars free India had to fight in 1947, 1962, 1965 and 1971.
9. It is the Dogri speaking region which has had to bear the brunt of the these wars. Thousands of

refugees from Pakistani Punjab and the Pak-Occupied areas of the State have been accommodated in the Jammu region. Even the Dogra refugees from the Chhamb Sector (handed over to Pakistan after 1971 war) have also poured into Jammu and are still awaiting rehabilitation.

10. In return for all their sacrifices, all that the Dogras demand is the fulfilment of their foremost democratic aspiration—the preservation and promotion of their linguistic and cultural identity. This can only be done by acceding to their most legitimate demand of accepting their language, Dogri, as a national language at par with the others included in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
11. Over the years many Private Members' Bills have been moved, questions raised and special mentions made in both the Houses of Parliament for including Dogri in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution.
12. The Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, spearheading the movement for inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule, had presented a Memorandum to the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir on May, 12 1992, who promised to recommend Dogri's case to the Central Government. We have sent Memoranda to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Hon'ble Home Minister and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs on 5 June 1992, copies of the Memoranda have also been sent to the heads of all the Political Parties in India. Dr. Karan Singh has written to the Prime Minister strongly supporting the demand.

India is a land of varied languages and cultures. All languages and cultures of this vast land of ours are equally important and respectable, and deserve to be accorded equal status. Now when Manipuri, Konkani and Nepali are being considered for inclusion in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution, it will be gross injustice to deny the Dogri

language its due place. In the interest of the culture of the Dogri speaking people and in the larger interest of the Union of India, therefore, we request for the inclusion of Dogri language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India in the forthcoming Session of the Parliament, along with other deserving languages.

8

Sahitya Akademi Awards for Kashmiri

1956	<i>Sumran</i> (poetry)	Zinda Kaul Masterji
1958	<i>Sat Sangar</i> (Short Stories)	Akhtar Mohiuddin
1961	<i>Nauroz -i-Saba</i> (Poetry)	A. Rahman Rahi
1967	<i>Lawah Te Prawah</i> (Poetry)	Amin Kamil
1969	<i>Ka'shri Zab'any Hund Allegavaad Phera</i> (Linguistic study)	Abdul Khaliq Tak Zainageri
1970	<i>Maqallat</i> (Essays)	Mohiuddin Hajini
1972	<i>Suyya</i> (Play)	Ali Mohammed Lone
1975	<i>Gaashir Munar</i> (Essays)	Ghulam Nabi Khayal
1976	<i>Machaama</i> (Plays)	Pushkar Bhan
1978	<i>Be Soakh Rooh</i> (Poetry)	G.R. Santosh
1979	<i>Partavistan</i> (Poetry)	Marghoob Banihali
1981	<i>Mansar</i> (Poetry)	Moti Lal Saqi
1982	<i>Natak Triche</i> (Drama)	Motilal Kemmu
1984	<i>Essay</i> (Essays)	Mohd. Zaman Azurdah
1985	<i>Loli Vetsar</i> (Poetry)	Mirza G.H. Beg Arif

1986	<i>Shihil Kul</i> (Poetry)	Dian Nath Nadim
1987	<i>Awaz-i-Dost</i> (Poetry)	Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki
1988	<i>Pun-Te-Pap</i> (Novel)	Ghulam Nebi Gauhar
1989	<i>Shen Te Watpod</i> (Novel)	Pran Kishore
1990	<i>Kashur Sarmaya</i> (Poetry)	Fazil Kashmiri
1991	<i>Acchre-Tsange</i> (Poetry)	Ghulam Nabi Tak Naazir
1992	<i>Amaar</i> (Poetry)	Shafi Shaida
1993	<i>Kenh Natu Kenh</i> (Essays)	Syed Rasool Pompur
1994	<i>Kalji Raath</i> (Plays)	Sajood Sailani

(No Awards in 1955, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1977, 1980 and 1983).

9

Sahitya Akademi Awards for Dogri

1970	<i>Nila Ambar Kale Badal</i> (Short Stories)	Narendra Khajuria
1971	<i>Meri Kavita Mere Geet</i> (Poetry)	Padma Sachdev
1972	<i>Phull Bina Dali</i> (Novel)	Srivats Vikal
1974	<i>Duddh, Lahoo, Zahar</i> (Short Stories)	Madan Mohan Sharma
1975	<i>Mere Dogri Geet</i> (Poetry)	Kishan Smailpuri
1976	<i>Badnami Di Chhan</i> (Short Stories)	Ram Nath Shastri
1977	<i>Main Mele Re Janun</i> (Poetry)	Kehar Singh 'Madhukar'
1978	<i>Sanjhi Dharit Bakhle Mahnu</i> (Novel)	Narsingh Dev Jamwal
1979	<i>Nanga Rukh</i> (Novel)	O.P. Sharma 'Sarathi'
1980	<i>Ghar</i> (Novel)	Kunwar Viyogi
1981	<i>Ek Shehr Yaaden Da</i> (Poetry)	Jitendra Udhampuri
1982	<i>Qaidi</i> (Novel)	Deshbandhu Dogra 'Nutan'
1983	<i>Aale</i> (Short Stories)	Ved Tahi

1984	<i>Gamlen De Cactus</i> (Poetry)	Shiv Ram 'Deep'
1985	<i>Ayodhiya</i> (Drama)	Dinoo Bhai Pant
1986	<i>Sunee Di Chiree</i> (Short Stories)	Om Goswami
1987	<i>Beddan Dharti Di</i> (Epic)	Prakash Premi
1988	<i>Rattu Da Chanan</i> (Poetry)	Ram Lal Sharma
1989	<i>Sodh Samunderen Di</i> (Poetry)	Mohanlal Sapolia
1990	<i>Jeevan Lehran</i> (Poetry)	Tara Smailpuri
1991	<i>Apni Daphli Apna Raag</i> (Drama)	Mohan Singh
1992	<i>Jo Terai Man-Chitta Laggi Jaa</i> (Poetry)	Yash Sharma
1994	<i>Buddh Suhagan</i> (Plays)	Jitendra Sharma
(No awards in 1973, 1993)		

10

Folklore of Kashmir

*By
S.N. Dhar*

It has been mentioned how Somadeva's classic, *Katha-Sarita-Sagar*, became the source material of folk-tales in most Indian languages. Of primary importance to the folklorist, the folk-tale excercises a peculiar charm over people of all ages, in all climes and countries. Kashmir has an inexhaustable fund of folk-tales. They are, as folklorist have it, as old as the rocks. Many of the folk-tales of Kashmir like "Himal and Nagiray", "Zohra Khotan and Haya Bund", "Gulala Shah", etc. are distinctly Kashmiri in origin. (Among these, "Himal and Nagiray" has been renderd into Kashmiri and Persian verse). Others, which constitute the large majority, are variants of popular tales of the East and the West.

Common Denominator

It is interesting to underline points common to folk-tales of Kashmir and the rest of the world. The demon or the lion or tigress, giving a tuft of hair or some such token to the ingratiating hero, to whom it serves as a useful charm, is a device common to eastern (including Kashmiri and other Indian) and western tales. The charming ring of Alladin has many interesting variants in folk-tales of Kashmir. Besides, there are legends of man-eating monsters in every country, whom the hero kills by ingenious means. These cannibal demons or vampires, for that matter, might have been a species

of some mythical animal, whose fear universally persisted in the common man. The less awesome creature like Makara—half bird, half crocodile—was given other forms like half antelope and half fish, as the myth spread from India, influencing people's lore and arts as far removed as Java, Mongolia and China. The popular heroes, semi-historical or otherwise, who destroyed these terrors, won applause from the folk the world over. Appollo killed Python. Hercules was the dragon-slayer. So were Beowulf and the heroes of "Percy's Reliques", in England, and Thor in Scandinavia. Variants of these legendary figures, woven into interesting stories, are to be found in Dravidian, German, Turkish, Tibetan and Kashmiri tales. The common denominator is an exotic admixture of the miraculous and the familiar, the myth and the reality. The hearer is transported into a new world, suspended between the known and an utopia.

In Zohra Khotan and Haya Bund, a purely Kashmiri tale, Zohra Khotan—pursued relentlessly by a rich tyrant of a merchant—collects earth, shapes it into a clay head and invokes God to transform it into her won head. God grants her prayer, to preserve her chastity. To clay changes into Zohra's head, dripping with blood. "Take this," she tells the soldier, "and give it to the merchant." The soldier departs with the head. This anecdote is typically Kashmiri, where occultism has deep roots. A combination of mystic and sorcerous factors have subscribed in good measure to determine the ethos of the folk life.

The Hatim or Harishchandra type of king, whose charity is unflagging even in the most trying circumstances, occurs in Kashmiri as in many Indian and a number of Asian tales. Through their poet-historian, Kalhana, Kashmiris know about and have stories about Vinaditya, the saint-king, of Kashmir, who lived on the produce of his farming. Then there are the exploits of the mythical hero, who has the ability to transform himself into anything in the natural or the supernatural world. These have a familiar ring to the readers of the Arabian Nights

and epics of the Hindus as well as Katha-Sarita-Sagar. Monsters of different varieties, vampires, ghouls and goblins occur in Somadeva's stories. Self-transformation is the essential theme of the 'swan-maiden' stories in Katha-Sarita-Sagar. In other Kashmiri, as in Asian tales, the protagonist dons a cap to make himself invisible to execute his plans. Naga or snake—also means 'a spring' in Kashmiri—is peculiar to Kashmiri and Bengali tales. The wife of Kashyapa—after whom, according to legend, Kashmir is named, Kashyapa-Mir, 'the land of Kashyapa'—was the mother of Nagas, who peopled Patala, the region below the earth. The lover of Himal (in the representative Kashmiri folktale, Himal and Nagiray) is Nagiray, the serpent-monarch, who assumed human form on the earth, but was otherwise a snake in his spring. (A spring near Pampur, a village near Srinagar, famous for saffron fields is still attributed to Nagiray).

Delightful replicas of Shabrang, Prince-Thief of Kashmir, are to be found in Norse, Dravidian and Chinese tales. (Many a Kashmiri tale has the pleasant spontaneity of Norse tales). Ashraf of the Punjab folk-tale is a near echo of Saraf of Kashmir. The robber of 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' of the Arabian Nights has parallels in many Kashmiri and other Indian tales. Thieves, cut-throats, harlots and opium-addicts abound in the stories of Katha-Sarita-Sagar. To come to recent times, intriguing stories of thieves like Laiq Tsur and his famous 'pupil', Mahadev Bhishta—the 'Robinhood of Kashmir'—are current in village and urban homes of Kashmir.

The prose of Kashmiri folk-tales is picturefully colloquial. Nature's bountiful charms of the "Vale of Cashmere" add not a little to the beauty of the figures and the aptness of the diction. The faithfulness of the folk to the narrative is striking. It is largely the rural folk, young and old, who have preserved these treasures of the literature of the people in a mostly undiluted form. An old peasant, narrative a folk-tale, often interperses it with fragments of narrative poetry which render the telling more effective.

Kashmiri language—he hears the village belles, harvesters, craftsmen, boatmen or children recite them in happy chorus.

Many Themes

The predominant theme of folk-songs is a woman's touching plaint about her strayed lover who has deserted her. A typical love song is:

*O, you must tell me,
Where my boy has gone.
Is he a fountain in life's garden,
Or, a well of nectar, sweet and delicious?*

Spring is the colourful season when fruit trees look resplendent in their variegated blossoms and the shepherd girl addresses the Marg (a mountain meadow):

*Far off forests have all blossomed forth,
Hast thou not heard of me, my love?
Mountain lakes like Tar Sar are full of flowers,
Hast thou not heard of me, my love?*

They are but excerpts from romantic love-songs, replete with beautiful imagery, invoked by the folk bard from the lovely environs of the 'Paradise of the Indies'. The imagination of the folk bard rises to poetic heights in cradle songs. The peasant mother, comparing the apple of her eye to her ear-ring, recites:

*I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee,
Thou are the God of Love at evening,
And the sun at early morning,
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee.*

Rural women, plying the spinning wheel, sweetly hum songs such as:

*On my mat in my home is perched my spinning wheel,
I wheel it and weave threads out of it.*

The serpentine and calm flowing river of the Happy Valley, the Jhelum, forms the just theme of the songs, like:

*O thou slow-motioned Jhelum;
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum!
How great is thy statelyess!
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum!*

The peasant women sing praises of the majestic tree of Kashmir, the Chinar, whose beautiful leaf recurs in the lovely motifs of the Valley's manifold art products:

*To me, O Chinar, leaf, my love has sent thee,
My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee,
Thou, art, Chinar leaf, a prince of beauty,
My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee.*

Saffron of Kashmir is well-known in song and legend. The saffron fields of Pampore, in the vicinity of Srinagar, are famous. While picking the saffron flowers, peasants-men and women-sing:

*Towards Pampore went away my darling,
Saffron flowers caught him in fragrant embrace.
O, he is there, and ah me! I am here,
When, where, O God, would I see his face?*

The labouring folk enjoy the loved product of their toil, but soon the usufruct goes to the contractor's store, and they feel the poignant separation of the enchanting flower":

*How pink is saffron's colour;
Collecting it into heaps we are bathed in sweet,*

*Soon, too soon, it will be hurried to the City,
Enjoy, its glorious view, O Samad,
How pink is saffron's colour!*

The touching refrain of the song is reminiscent of the wonderful view of the saffron blossom which is entralling in full moon or at sunrise or sunset.

Saffron-pilferers, actual or aspirant, lustily shout the humorous doggerel:

*At Pampore are the saffron fields,
Bare-footed I shall steal saffron;
My Pir lives at Vijibrar,
Why should I run there?*

The incomparable beauty of the saffron flower excites the folk-bard to sing the village belle's conceit:

*Proud of thyself are thou,
O, saffron flower!
Far lovelier than thee am I,
O, saffron flower!*

Of Wedding, Etc.

The wedding songs (Vanvun) are sung by Muslim and Hindu women in villages and towns, but there are differences between the two in diction, etc. The Muslim songs are weighted with Persian words, whereas those of the Hindus have some Sanskrit vocabulary and the tunes recall Vedic chants, which is specially true of Yagnopavit (sacred thread ceremony) and Hindu wedding songs. The dirges (Van) of Hindus and Muslims—again, sung by women—present similar differences of diction and style.

In a Muslim wedding song, the bridegroom's mother lead the chorus:

*You pretty damsels, stay here tonight,
O do sing in honour of the Sultan of India,
His wife's people claim him as their own,
But I shall decorate his bed with mica.*

The beauty of the bride is sung by the rustic muse in befitting terms:

*Our belle is robed in muslin,
O maid! who has dressed you?
Your teeth are so many pearls,
Who has delved them from the sea?
You are a dealer in gems,
O maid! who has dressed you?*

In another marriage song, the bride's mother welcomes the bridegroom:

*Live long, O groom, live long,
O come up our stairs,
I shall adorn thy sword with the lotus,
O come up our stairs.*

Whereas the apricot is the symbol of the bride, the rose is the emblem of the bridegroom in a wedding song which is at the same time a prayer:

*May this rose blossom forth, O God!
And may this blessed stramlet run on, O God!*

The Barat (marriage procession) invites analogies with royal occasions:

*This Durbar (family) is blessed for the first time,
Today the Sarkar (i.e., the bride's father) await the Barat,
He hardly believes his eyes,
God has blessed him.*

The muslim girl, about to sign the Nikah (marriage contract) is told to be "wary" to "what is written down," and she is advised:

*Pampered child give up pranks now,
You are our houri,
But, as daughter, you are another's property.*

The birth of a son is an occasion that calls for festivities and songs among the Hindus and Muslims. Joyous songs recall the Hindu mother's travails, culminating in the happy event:

*To beget you, I observed fasts on Chaturdashis and Sundays,
Suffering tribulations, I bore you for eight months,
In the ninth month was born my darling;
I called you Barkhordar (the filial one),
Greetings poured in from all aides,
And we started feasting everybody;
On the third day, I roasted 20 kilos of linseed in butter
and fruit,
And sent presents and greetings to my parents.
What delicacies didn't I cook?
For you I procured lovely clothes,
And gave alms to Brahmins and Astrologers.*

The Muslim song, celebrating the birth of a son, runs thematically on the same lines, except that the Chaturdashi (14th day of the lunar fortnight) fast and Brahmins are not mentioned, and the conclusion is different:

*When you were born, I thanked Allah,
I whispered the secret of Islam in your ears,
And named you Diljan (darling).*

The Mundan (a child's first hair cutting) ceremony is the occasion for songs in which the child is idolised and adored:

*We will crop your hair with a golden razor,
King of Misr (Egypt), I sacrifice myself for thee,
We will load you with precious jewels,
And bedeck your (hairless) chin with pearls.*

Romantic ballads, originally sung by the peasantry, and passed on by word of mouth, have had and continue to have universal appeal among the Kashmiri folk. Many lines from these are on the lips of villagers. They sign the highly contemplative lines from Shirin Khusroo balled:

*Maddened by bewitching Shirin,
Khusroo went to batter the mountain.
To whom did this world prove faithful?
Alas, who killed you, you lost one?*

The legendary lovers, Himal and Nagiray, the typical folk-tale of Kashmir, are recalled in a wedding song, the couple compared to them:

*Nagiray will take his seat on the golden carpet,
And take away Himal in the jewelled palanquin.*

Or, the bridegroom may be addressed effusively, the Nagiray analogy kept up affectionately:

*The rose has bloomed in the spring,
 Darling, who led you over here?
 Nagiray has come for Himal,
 Waving your tuft, you enter our gate,
 Which way did you come. Bombur (bee), for the rose?
 I will swing you in the cradle,
 I have illuminated the house for you,
 And bedecked Himal for you.*

Ruf (or, dance) songs are delightful to watch and hear when groups of girls or women stand in rows, facing each other. Interlinking their arms round each other's waist, they move forwards and backwards, giving themselves a heaving motion. They may recite only a couplet in chorus, like:

*Awake, awake, O sweet hyacinth,
 Come on, let us dance, O sweet hyacinth!*

Dirges are sung by women in chorus after the death of a fairly old person in the family. The poignant humour of a dirge can be telling as in:

*The Hakim came and came, the patient (seemingly)
 improved,
 The pyre will be made from sandal wood.*

There is a rich variety of pastoral songs which are simple and chaste, and acquire a singular charm when sung in chorus by village belles during the harvesting season, when nature is replete with her bounties. Folklorists divide pastoral songs of Kashmir into two categories—those sung in Kashmiri by the shepherds of Kashmir, and the ones recited by Gujjars in their own dialect. The bounties of the spring and the mountain meadows in blossom are the favourite topics of the pastoral songs. Cowboys and shepherdesses—whether Kashmiris of the Valley or Gujjars tending their flocks in upland meadows—

returning with their herds in the evenings, also sing these songs, singly or chorus.

The unique characteristic of intricate vowel sounds coupled with liquid consonants of the Kashmiri language is reflected in its folk-songs, rendering them sweet in tone and alliterative in form. The simplicity of the theme of the folk-songs is matched by the imaginative poetic fervour, and no definite verse forms have hampered the inspiration of the poet of the people.

The Himalayan Muse sings through the folk-songs of Kashmir, fresh, lucid and chaste, and rich in rhythm and vitality. The tender-footed Kashmiri belles, singing the dance-songs at harvest time or on festive occasions, and dancing the Ruf in rhythmic movement with inter-locked arms, evince the physical expression of the inner response of Kashmiris to the joy and beauty of nature around them. In their dance and song, as well as in the folk-tales, are thus embodied the heritage of Kashmir's dynamic though chequered past and the spirit of beauty vibrating through the sublime and the variegated, bountiful aspects of the Himalayan mountain and meadow.



11

Folk Songs of Ladhak

The folk songs of Ladakh are known for their intense love, emotions and simplicity. They also throw light on their strong belief in religion and their gods. For example, the earlier historical song of Ladakh 'Tisuk-Ganguasuk' is about twelve hundred years old. There is another song known as 'Thaley La-go' called after the pass Thaley situated between Baltistan and Yarkand. It was composed during the invasion of Ladakh by Mirza Haider Duglat. Its English rendering is as follows:

From the top of the Thaley Pass
A huge army is proceeding,
O, our Holy-Deities !
Save us.
They let stray their horses
Unto the fields
And they are jumping into the sky,
O, our Holy-Deities !
Save us from their jaws.

The following are some typical instances of the richly expressive folk-songs of Ladakh.

The Joy of Youth

The high ones line in high places

Into all the heights of the sky

Besides the king of birds none flies.

During the three summer months, whatever can bloom, blooms.

Except in the three summer months, oh, there are no flowers.

Besides this one life-time I shall not belong to my mother.

In this one life-time, whatever can be happy, is happy.

Enjoy this one life-time as ever you can enjoy it.

We should note the nice parallelism in the song.

Preparation for a Dance

The girls of the lower village are clever in dancing;

Get up then for a dance, all you girls !

To improve your appearance, put on a shawl !

To improve your complexion, smear your face three times with shoglo !

Having put on the shawl, come to the dance !

Having smeared your faces, come to the dance !

A Dance

The body of the girl is, as if it was built of gold:

The hair of the girl is like a turquoise willow.

Now turn to the right, mother's daughter !

Now turn to the left, Skalzang Dolma !

Then break off backwards !

In the direction of the good hill in the back break off backwards !

Now again advance meeting (your companion) !

Advancing again give honour to Khoda on high !

This song reveals the interaction between Buddhist and Islamic cultures. The girl's name is quite Buddhist, whereas the word Khoda for God is used by Muslims only. Also the idea of paying homage to God in an ordinary dance is Buddhist.

Wedding Song

Now, friends, do not let the fire fall down !

Now, you who enter, from where
do you come?

Then, where will you go to?

Where will you be pleased to sit down?

For whose sake do you come?

Why did you come here into the middle of the village?

To these questions by the relatives and friends of the bride, the Nyopas or relatives or friends of the bridegroom who have just arrived at the bride's village answer,

We come from a happy country in the East.

We go to the country of the paradise in the West.

We shall be pleased to sit down here.

Our aim is here in the middle of the village.

Well thought, you mighty friends !

The songs are in the form of a catechism. In the Chang glu (continuation of the wedding song) the girl sings:

Secret Love

On the meadow, on the
upper meadow,
On the upper meadow there is a flower in bloom
Hello, my boy!
A flower of very fine shape is
in bloom there, my boy!
Gather the flower, my body.
Father the well shaped flower!
If you gather it with your
hand, it will fade.
Gather it with your soul and
Keep it (fastened) in your mind!
Gather it with your soul and
Keep it in your mind!

The Girl of Sheh

On the hill in the back there is the 'm-Chodrten' of
white crystal.
In the front there is the lake, blue like a turquoise
On the shaves flowers are in bloom.
They grow in my fatherland together with its fortune.
On the shave large yellow flowers are in bloom.
In the castle of Sheb the milk flows.
On the high summit there lives
The well-speaking 'Iha' of the summit.

Wherever our gracious prince goes,
Oh 'Iha'! protect his life!
To Midbang sdeskyong onrnamgyal
Give blessings during his life time!
The Lama, who is loved by the girl
Is like a picture of the gods in the temple.
The Lama, who is loved by the bZangmo
Is like a picture of the gods in the temple.
With pure and holy words
Bring offerings to God!
With pure and holy words
Give alms to the poor!

The Three Seasons

There grows, oh! there grows, there grows a golden shade.

In autumn, in the three months of autumn, there grows a golden shade.

There grows, oh! there grows, there grows a turquoise shade.

During summer, during the three months of summer, there grows a turquoise shade.

There grows, oh! there grows, there grows a pearl-white shade.

During winter, during the three months of winter, there grows a pearl-white shade.

If it grows pearl-white, it is for the welfare of the little village of Pacari.

The villagers are glad that there has been heavy snow during the winter, for, that means that they will not run short of water for irrigating the fields.

(*From Translation and Notes by A.H.Francke's Ladakhi Songs in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXI, 1902*)

12

Folk-Songs of Kashmir

*By
S.N. Dhar*

Kashmiri, the vernacular of Kashmir, has descended from Sanskrit. Actually Kashmiri is a very old language. During Muslim rule, it was enriched by Persian diction, and later on, in the modern period, Urdu and Hindi have been influencing it considerably. Kashmiri has had a rich literature. It yet lives in its songs, the folk-songs, which form a veritable "literature of the people" of Kashmir. In the Golden Valley, with its abundant beauties of nature and man, it was but natural for some unknown hoary folk-bard to have started the immortal vogue of folk-songs.

Folk-songs in Kashmir preserve the myths, customs, traditions and legends of bygone days. Thanks to Sir George Grierson, Sir Aurel Stein, Rev. J. Hinton, Knowles, and Prof. Devendra Satyarthi, Kashmiri folklore has been revived. The songs are current in every rural home in Kashmir. Rural itinerant minstrels usually carry a *Dahra*, an iron rod with loose iron rings on it, and when they sing folk-songs, they shake the rings skillfully up and down so as to produce a pleasing jingle. These minstrels have mostly passed on the folk-songs by word of mouth down through the ages.

Kashmiri folk-songs present considerable variety in theme, content and form. They can be broadly classified into opera and dancing songs, pastoral lore, romantic ballads, play-songs, Semi-mystical songs etc. Then there are other songs

sung during particular seasons or in accompaniment to certain occupations. Boatmen, labourers, seed-sowers, harvesters, embroiderers, papier-mache makers, milk-men, saffron-reapers, shepherds, villages belles fetching water, grinding, stacking or weeding paddy, sing their different melodious folk-songs in chorus. Yet others are sung as lullabies or cradle-songs, or at the birth and the naming of a child or at its circumcision or sacred thread ceremonies. Then there are wedding songs sung in chorus by women at and before marriage ceremonies. Dirges, popularly known as Van, are sung in chorus by the women after the death of old persons in the family.

The predominant theme of folk-songs is a woman's touching plaint about her strayed lover who has deserted her. Here is a typical love song:

*"O, you must tell me,
Where my boy has gone.
Is he a fountain in life's garden,
Or, a well of nectar, sweet and delicious?"*

The last two lines evince the power of exquisite imagery of the unknown folk-bard. These love songs are chaste, simple and pathetic. The lovesick maiden consoles herself in these words:

*"My love is out to tend his goats,
And he must be weaving a garland there;
A garland of fresh, dewy, sosan flowers,
For me, ye maidens."*

The serpentine and calmly flowing river of the Valley, the Jhelum, forms the just theme of the folk-songs:

*"O thou slow-motioned Jhelum!
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum!"*

How great is thy stateliness!

For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum!"

Kashmiri peasant women sing praises of the majestic and beautiful tree of Kashmir—the Chinar. The beauty of its leaf is thus sung:

"To me, O chinar, leaf, my love has sent thee,

My all, O cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee,

Thou, are, chinar leaf, a prince of beauty,

My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee."

Saffron is one of the most beautiful products of Kashmir. Saffron field of Pampur, at a distance of eight miles from Srinagar, are famous. Peasants, both men and women, sing exquisite folk-songs while picking saffron flowers. A part of love song is:

"Towards Pampur went away my darling,

Saffron flowers caught him in fragrant embrace.

O, he is there, and ah me! I'm here,

When, where, O God, would I see his face?"

A village girl may sing a conceit in sweet tones;

"Proud of thyself are thou,

O saffron flower!

Far lovelier than thee am I.

O saffron flower!"

The labouring folk hardly enjoy the loved product of their labour or its usufruct, which goes to the contractor's store, and they feel the poignant separation of the enchanting flower, as they express in:

"How pink is saffron's colour;

*Collecting it into heaps we are bathed in sweet,
Soon, too soon, it will be hurried to the City,
Enjoy its glorious view, O Samad,
How pink is saffron's colour!"*

The touching refrain of the song is reminiscent of the wonderful view of the saffron blossom which is especially charming in full moon or at sunrise or sunset.

Saffron-pilferers, actual or aspirant, lustily shout the humorous doggerel:

*"At Pampore are the saffron fields,
Bare-footed I shall steal saffron;
My Pir lives at Vijibrar,
Why should I run there?"*

Though the poor Kashmiri peasants may not afford to use the shawl, Kashmir's world-famous product of art, but they spin its wool and love its beauty. The bride happily sings:

*"Shawl-wool shall I spin with my own hands,
And shall get it dyed in saffron colour."*

In a wedding-song the bridegroom's mother leads the chorus;

*"You pretty damsels, stay here to-night,
Oh ! do sing in honour of the Sultan of India,
His wife's people claim him as their own,
And I shall decorate his bed with mica."*

The marriage ceremony is preceded by the so-called "Henna Night", when the hands and feet of the bride and bridegroom are dyed in henna, while women sing chorus songs far into the night:

*"We congratulate you on your 'Henna Night',
You have been blessed with God's mercy.
May you be safe from danger and accidents,
May god remove your difficulties."*

The beauty of the bride is fitly sung by the rustic muse in such songs:

*"Our belle is robed in muslin,
O maid! who has dressed you?
Your teeth are so many pearls,
Who has delved them from the sea?"*

The bride's mother and her relatives sing:

*"Live long, O groom, live long,
O come up our stairs,
I will adorn thy sword with the lotus,
O come up by our stairs."*

The rose is the emblem of the bridegroom in another wedding prayer:

*"May this rose blossom forth, O God!
And may this streamlet of blessing run on, O God!"*

Spring is the season when fruit trees look resplendent in their variegated blossoms and the shepherd girl addresses the Marg, a meadow:

*"Far off forests have all blossomed forth,
Hast not thou heard of me, my Love?
Mountain lakes like Tar Sar are all full of flowers,
Hast thou not heard of me, my Love?"*

Not unoften do rural women work at the spinning-wheel. To the accompaniment of this simple occupation, they sweetly hum songs such as:

*"On my mat in my home is perched my spinning wheel,
I wheel it and weave threads out of it."*

The imagination of the folk rises to poetic heights in the cradle songs. The peasant mother, comparing her darling to her ear-ring, her loved ornament, sings:

*"I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee,
Thou art the God of Love at evening,
And the sun at early morning,
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee."*

All these kinds of folk-lore contain the essentials of folk songs in that they have been verbally communicated from one generation of rustic and pastoral bards, minstrels and the peasantry in general, to the other generation, and that they are sung at labour, dance, play or traditional ceremonies or craft-occupations. The unique characteristic of intricate vowel sounds coupled with liquid consonants of the Kashmir language is reflected in its folk-songs, rendering them sweet in tone and alliterative in form. The simplicity of theme and content of folk-songs is matched by their imaginative, poetic fervour. No definite verse-forms have hampered the poetic inspirations of the rustic Muse. The exquisite singing quality of the folk-songs is appreciated by even the ear of the foreigner.

Romantic ballads, originally sung by the peasantry, and passed on verbally, have had and continue to have universal appeal among the Kashmiri folk. Many a lines from folk-tales are on the lips of villagers. They sing the highly contemplative lines from Shirin Khusroo :

*"Maddened by bewitching Shirin,
Khusroo went to batter the mountain."*

To whom did this world prove faithful?

Alas, who killed you, you lost one?"

In a wedding song, the new couple may be compared to the legendary lovers, Himal and Nagrai thus:

"Nagrai will take his seat on the golden carpet

And shall take away Himal in the pearly palanquin."

Dirges are sung by women in chorus after the death of a fairly old person in the family. The poignant humour is touching as in:

"The Hakim came and came, the patient (seemingly) improved,

The pyre will be made from sandal wood."

Ruph or Dance Songs are delightful to hear when groups of girls or women stand in lines, interlocking their arms round each other's waist and heave forwards and backwards, giving themselves a wavy motion. They will sing only a couplet in chorus, for instance:

"Awake, awake, O sweet hyacinth,

Come on let us dance, O sweet hyacinth!"

This couplet is melodiously repeated over and over again—producing an excellent effect of rhythm.

The peasant-day folk-lore has not substantially added to the past, rich folk-lore of Kashmir. Like most folk-lore it is not high in point of prosody, but, what matters is, that it is spontaneous and through it vibrates the very life of the masses of Kashmir, whose simple habits, bygone customs, loved traditions and past and present agrarian life are fitly mirrored in it. It throws open vast fields of activity for sustained research, so that it may be preserved, revived and rendered dynamic.



13

Folk-Songs

*By
S.N. Dhar*

DOGRI FOLK-SONGS

The Dogra is strongly attached to his 'lovely Dogra land'. Many of the Dogri songs are replete with romantic descriptions of nature and man, like the following popular folk-songs:

*Behold our lovely Dogra land,
O friend, behold our glorious land!
Groups of lion-hearted men,
And women, the very incarnation of Durga and Chandi,
Behold our glorious land!
Colourful country of green ranges, joy and happiness.
The lovely hills of Chamba and Bhales,
Behold our glorious land!
Beautiful girls, growing to maturity like the waking moon,
Fed on the nectar of springs and streamlets,
Behold our glorious land!
Twisting streams,
Rippling like serpents in the embrace of towering mountains,*

*And the milky Tawi,
 Flowing down with serpentine bends,
 Behold our glorious land!
 Exquisite lakes, of Mansar and Sanasar,
 Behold in every home,
 Maidens of beauty like the full moon;
 For centuries bards and minstrels have sung
 Praises of our glorious Dogra land!*

A lover who is indifferent to love as well as the people's martial tradition is aroused to action in a song, whose poignancy (of rejected love) and rhythmic grace can match with the best English love lyric. Here is the translation of lyric whose touching refrain is *O maria patliao manuan* (*O my tender, tender love*)-

*O my tender, tender Love.
 What has been said or done
 To make you angry with one
 Who can reconcile and is won,
 O my tender, tender Love?
 Sweet unrest and sleepless vigils,
 Desires that did not take up cudgels,
 To me your charming words are puzzles,
 O my tender, tender Love?
 Sweet suchian served with a delicious dish
 But at lunch time you to Mandi rush;
 Can you imagine how my tears gush,
 O my tender, tender Love?
 Lazily lie your sword and shield*

*And armour hangs on the peg unappealed,
Even war-bombs fail to fly you to the field,
O my tender, tender Love?*

(Suchian, served in the kitchen, is balanced with the heroic story of the Mandi and its heroic denizens to excite the inert lover.)

KISHTWARI FOLK-SONGS

A Mystic song

*A person comes alone and goes alone,
What kind of scene turns you on?
The blowing of the wind bends flower trees,
But stronger wind destroys the whole thing.
Stones, earth and wooden beams collected,
The mason is engaged to construct the house.
One could spend so much that one loses count,
Even after that the builder is burnt on a few Planks of
wood.
Laughing, playing, some dancing and singing,
Death, shedding tears, nobody asks, nobody listens.
Whatever God ordains shall happen,
Not even a scratch takes place without His will.*

A Folk ghazal

*Who consumes whose bounty,
Depends on each one's luck.
Whatever you do makes your Destiny,
The good do good and the evil do wrongs.*

*Some live whimpering and grumbling,
 Others have a smooth sailing in life.
 One may have observed things of the earth,
 But who has seen anything that is beyond?
 The broad-minded give away things freely,
 The non-givers frighten away the supplicants,
 The young or old succumb to death,
 Just as autumn glitter fades and water extinguishes fire.
 All alone you have come, all alone you go,
 Guest of two days, you reap what you have sown.*

'My Own Land'

*Beautiful Kishtwar, you are my country,
 Saffron fields crown you, my own land.
 River Chenab washes your feet everyday,
 Mountain peak, called Nagin Sheru,
 Keeps you cool, my own land.
 Beautiful Kishtwar, you are my country!
 The world accepts you as the crown,
 So many kings ruled this land,
 And held resplendent court.
 Beautiful Kishtwar you are my country!
 When there were communal riots all around,
 You stood out out as a beacon,
 An emblem of communal harmony.
 Beautiful Kishtwar, you are my country!*

*At dawn I adore your landscape,
 A land with a lovely waterfall like Putinag,
 I sacrifice myself at your feet.
 Beautiful Kishtwar, you are my country!*

A Love Lyric

*I cannot imagine who has complained against me,
 Ill will has been created all over,
 By people speaking against me,
 I have lost my slumber and my peace of mind.
 I cannot tolerate your separation any more,
 I feel as if my eyes are overwhelmed,
 By an eclipse darker than any,
 It looks as if sparks are flashing out of my head.
 I have never hidden my deep love for you,
 Day and night I am immersed in your thoughts,
 I offer my heart to you,
 I dedicated my whole self to you and you alone.
 It just occurred to me, I feel your presence,
 We will walk together,
 My wishes will come true,
 If you will stay for some time only.
 You partly showed me your face and hid it,
 You give a patient hearing to my love songs,
 Let me have a view of your beautiful face,
 So that I feel the intoxication of wine!*

Patriotic song

We are Hindustanis and Hindustan is ours,

*We were born and grew up here,
 It kindles the star of peace,
 Smiling faces, twisted moustaches, proud eyebrows.
 Hindus, Kashmiris, Sikhs, are blended with one another.*

*We embrace each other,
 And the enemy gets jealous.*

*Temples, mosques, churches have songs of their own.
 Pat the back of these Jawans who sacrificed their lives.
 Who went to gallows, smiles on their faces.
 Suffering hardships they never uttered a word,*

*At last the red monkeys (the British) had to flee, hiding
 their tails.*

*We became independent, after the martyrs were wrapped
 in coffins,*

*We do whatever we wish and brings us happiness,
 We are not scared or afraid,
 We have our own Raj.
 Everyone, male or female, has the rights now,
 One voice, determination and faith, in young and old,
 Those who look at us with evil intention,
 Shall be the target of our attack.*

LADAKHI FOLK-SONGS

The Dard Song about the Origin of the Earth

*How did the earth first grow?
 At first the earth grew on a lake.
 What grew on the water?*

On the water grew a meadow.
What grew on the meadow?
Three hill grew there?
What are the names of the three hills?
The name of one hill is the "White Jewel Hill."
What is the name of another hill?
The name of another hill is the "Red Jewel Hill."
What is the name of the one remaining hill?
The name of one remaining hill is the "Blue Jewel Hill."
What grew on the three hills?
Three trees grew there.
What are the names of the three trees?
The name of one tree is the "White Sandal Tree,"
The name of another is the "Blue Sandal Tree,"
The name of one remaining tree is the "Red Sandal Tree."
What grew on the three trees?
Three birds grew on the three trees.
What is the name of one bird?
The name of the bird is "Wild Eagle."
What is the name of another bird?
The name of another bird is "Bamdoor Hen."
What is the name of the one remaining bird?
The name of the one remaining bird is "Blackbird."

Other Ladakhi Folk-Songs

A song from the ancient epic of King Nyima-gon reads:

Oh Father Nyima-gon

The following is a passage from the song 'Prince Chogsprul's Fight':

The sun is rising, the warm sun of the East;

He is rising on the summit of the good palace of three-fold happiness.

May the pure rays of the sun fall on the great town of Leh with the three courts of government!

When I, a boy, lived in my fatherland, I was surrounded by the servants, inside and outside the palace.

When Chogsprul lived in the great town of Leh, the number of his servants was like the stars of heaven.

When I, a boy went to a foreign country, I was alone with my horse.

When Chogsprul went to Spiti, we were only one man and one horse.

When we went across all the large and little plains, I was so thirsty that I humbly prayed for water.

When I, a boy, was still in my fatherland, I had always a pair of teapots, like the sun and moon.

Then I, a boy, went to sleep under a cedar tree....

SONG OF A MON MUSICIAN

The Tibetan Fiddle

*Do not think that my fiddle, called Trashy Wanggyal,
Does not possess a great father,
If the divine wood of the pencil cedar
Is not its great father, what else?*

(Refrain)

*Do not go a-hunting
 In my dream last night
 I saw something bad in my dream.
 I, a boy, had to die,
 I saw the colour of blood on my golden saddle.
 I shall no more dance to the sound of trumpets and
 clarinets.*

*Oh, king, do not go a-hunting,
 Thy son Zlava-gon has to die.*

The history of Ladakh furnishes interesting songs. Minister Ngorub Standzin composed his hymn in honour of King Tsepal. The hymn is graphic:

*Through perfect good fortune
 The happiness containing garden Karzo,
 Not being built, came into existence by itself.
 It is the house of the gods and the sun.
 Having in the zenith of the clear sky,
 Sun and moon like umbrellas, so it arose.
 It is a wonderfully pleasing sight;
 It is like a fine room with pairs of pillars,
 Within, on a lion's throne,
 Sits Nyatri-tsampo's family;
 That is the king of faith, Tsepal, and with mother and son.
 May their feet on the lotus stand one hundred cycles of
 years!
 On this magnificent high nut-tree
 Male and female birds sing melodious songs.*

The following is a passage from the song 'Prince Chogsprul's Fight':

The sun is rising, the warm sun of the East;

He is rising on the summit of the good palace of three-fold happiness.

May the pure rays of the sun fall on the great town of Leh with the three courts of government!

When I, a boy, lived in my fatherland, I was surrounded by the servants, inside and outside the palace.

When Chogsprul lived in the great town of Leh, the number of his servants was like the stars of heaven.

When I, a boy went to a foreign country, I was alone with my horse.

When Chogsprul went to Spiti, we were only one man and one horse.

When we went across all the large and little plains, I was so thirsty that I humbly prayed for water.

When I, a boy, was still in my fatherland, I had always a pair of teapots, like the sun and moon.

Then I, a boy, went to sleep under a cedar tree....

SONG OF A MON MUSICIAN

The Tibetan Fiddle

*Do not think that my fiddle, called Trashi Wanggyal,
Does not possess a great father,
If the divine wood of the pencil cedar
Is not its great father, what else?*

(Refrain)

*Do not think that my fiddle, called Trashi Wanggyal,
 Does not possess a little mother!
 If the strings from the goat,
 Are not its little mother, what else?*

(Refrain)

*Do not think that my fiddle, called Trashi Wanggyal,
 Does not posses any brothers!
 If the ten fingers of my hand
 Are not its brothers, what else?*

(Refrain)

*Do not think that my fiddle, called Trashi Wanggyal,
 Does not posses any friends!
 If the sweet sounds of its own mouth
 Are not its friends, what else?*

(Refrain)

Refrain

*Shah Shah ma zhig Shah Shah ma zig,
 Tse sang ma zhig sang mol.*

MORE LADAKHI FOLK-SONGS

'Our Lucky Son'

*The wheel fortune turned, unaccountably, suddenly,
 A boy, who was poor and dressed in rags,
 Became rich, so rich that he didn't know,
 How to spend his wealth-a headache to him.
 Addressing him, his parents admonished him:*

"Our lucky son, realised your good days have come,
 Look, the brocades of China that you could only dream about
 Clothe you now and some of the attire trails behind your feet.
 "You wear the velved cap that you had never seen before.
 In this head-gear and dress you look more beautiful than a bridegroom.
 The shawl that you are wearing is whiter than the white clouds—
 A shawl that you couldn't have put on even in a dream.
 "The sash you let trail to the floor,
 Is made of the finest fabric from Lhasa,
 And yet you couldn't have dreamt of it,
 In days gone by.
 "The dagger inlaid with gems and the painted pen-box set on your belt,
 Wherefrom could you have secured these fineries?
 Our lucky son, you are dressed like a bridegroom."

A Belle Sings

I am the daughter of a big father,
 I shall roam my blessed land.
 I will buy all the precious stones,
 The Pherozas and the other stones that fill my land.
 Em Esso! Em Esso! Ha, Ha, Ha!
 My mountains are high, sky-kissing,
 In their bowels are the Pheroza mines,

*I bought the gems to deck my Perak,
 Thus beautifully accoutred, I'll dance.
 Em Esso! Em Esso! Ha, Ha, Ha!
 Shigatse! Shigatse look at my Perak,
 See how bewitchingly it sits on my head.
 Me, the daughter of a big father,
 I'll dance around your mountains.
 Em Esso! Em Esso! Ha, Ha, Ha!*

A Love Lyric

*Enclosed by walls, the garden is like Eden;
 Inside it is a pond of milk.
 A flower-laden pavilion is in the pond;
 A shy princess is in the pavilion.
 If that valiant hero comes to the palace,
 I will be the doorman at the gate.
 I shall look out the window,
 If he comes to my locality.
 If my beloved tends to forget me,
 I will make him take a pledge (on a holy book)
 Not to forget me.
 A cat is crossing the Thangskam bridge,
 The cat may go on or no,
 I will not,
 For my life is precious.*

Ladakhi Caravan in Tibet

The finest lamb wool from Rodak I have brought,

*I make a Chuga for him out of this expensive wool,
 People were happy to see him in this fine dress.
 Their saddles poised on Chinese carpets, the caravan,
 Loaded with food supply, headed for Rodak.*

When the caravan reached Rodak, The Tibetan folks told them,

"Look around, we have beautiful snow-capped mountains"
*Ladakhis rejoined, "We have ponds full to the brim with
 oil extracted from the kernels of apricots,"*

*One party asked the other; "What will you serve us once
 we are in your land?"*

Tibetans said: "We will feast you on the best of our butter."

*Ladakhis said: "We will make the finest dishes for you
 from the oil of the apricot kernels."*

Ladakh caravan folks tell the Tibetans, appreciatively,

*"We are happy to see your land; it is really worth living
 in,*

*"It is high like the horns of a yak, it is beautiful and
 durable."*

Tibetans say, "The gate of our fort is made of iron,

It is impregnable; no one can break through it."

To this Ladakhis aver, "The gate of our fort,

*Is made of magnetic iron; it pulls the weapons of our
 enemies."*

*Seeing Ladakhis accompanied by Singhal Namgel, who
 was a Raja,*

*Tibetans say, "You folks are lucky and prosperous,
 A Raja accompanies your caravan; your laws are just."*

*The Tibetans commented thus, for their own laws are
 harsh;*

They wrap people in animal hides and throw them out to die.

The Raja of Ladakh observed: "In our land all folks are equal."

Ali Hassan

*Rakhasheer village is in the centre of our land,
 Constructed by Khoja Ali Hassan is a mosque of gold,
 In the upper dome of the mosque,
 There is something like a golden cock that crows at dawn,
 It isn't? cock but it is a man,
 The one who says the Azan, he is Khoja Rasul.
 We are all collecting in Bapzee polo ground to watch the game.
 The famous polo player, Khoja Ali Hassan, brought his team,
 They played against the team from Muqla and defeated them,
 Ali Hassan's team won but the opponents became his enemies.
 His fame as a great polo player spread beyond Ladakh,
 Zorawar Singh invited him to the Kashmir court.
 Ali Hassan set out for Kashmir but a terrible storm broke out at La-tien Lo-tein,
 Ali Hassan prayed to God to subside the storm; it abated.
 He reached Kashmir—and had the Ali Masjid constructed there;
 Secured Pheroze stones for inlay work of the mosque.
 He also constructed a mosque in Idgah maidan.*

*The people congregated at Ali masjid, when it was ready,
for Nimaz,*

*Ali Hassan did the Waizkhani and the folks were inspired.
Thereafter he was called to the Kashmir Durbar and
honoured.*

*Ali Hassan conversed with the nobles,
His voice stood out amongst the courtiers even as the
parrot's does.*

Action at Bazgo

*Three eagles are hovering over the tall palace of Bazgo,
These are no ordinary eagles but are my guardian deities,
In reality these are the guardian of Shalipa.*

*Mongolian soldiers are preparing to lay the siege,
Right from the summit of Laganz Kaze,
Aba Shalipa fixed the Bongsook cannon;*

*With continuous fire from the cannon, he finished the
Mongolian army.*

*Everyone including Aba Shalipa was happy.
From Bazgo's high palace, the uncle threw an arrow,
It hit a Mughal Soldier's cup and he reeled under the
shock.*

*During the action, Shali Zom Zom walked
Towards the river and fled from there.
As for me, I have stuck to my post.*



14

The Religion of the People

*By
Pandit Amar Nath*

The heading of this chapter is likely to mislead, as it is apt to suggest that subtleties of religion and beliefs are going to be discussed therein. A word of elucidation is, therefore, necessary.

For such a delicate subject as religion is, it can only be the pen of an erudite scholar of the scriptures and other literature on the subject, that can be expected to bring out in proper form those intricacies which are the tissues of this fabric. But for a man like me, it is only possible to give a rudimentary idea of the outward bearing or general principles. It may, therefore, be stated that the treatment of the subject will be untechnical and without scientific pretence and will be confined to a rough outline of this complicated subject. I, therefore, leave it for the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The prevailing religion of Ladakh is Buddhism which has its fountain-head in Lhasa in Tibet.

The educated and more enlightened may possess some knowledge of the philosophy of their religion but the general bulk of the population is entirely under the sway of the Lamas (Monks) in whom they see not only their advisers and guides but their saviours from the pangs of suffering and the liberators from the evils of transmigration. These Lamas thus play a very important part in religion and their influence pervades

every phase of a Buddhist Ladakhi's life. These Lamas are recluses, who are supposed to lead a life of celibacy and to pass it in the study of scriptures, devotion and self-abnegation. They generally reside in Gunpas or Monasteries which are the only religious institutions in this country. Near each village one comes across several long and wide built-up stone walls covered with thousands of flat thin stones bearing holy inscriptions. These, known as Manies, are to be found in every village and sometimes by the roadside. Keeping them always on the right, a passer-by is calculated to acquire for himself religious merit. In a few places, one may see gigantic figures carved in the rock that represent some god. All these things are in themselves signs to show the people's regard for their religion.

The Monasteries possess agricultural muafi lands, the produce of which and the grain collected by Lamas at harvest time are the chief source of their maintenence, besides the offerings made by the devotees. Cattle-breeding, trade and banking also go to add to their income. They are managed by a well organized hierarchy of priests with the Skushok as their spiritual head. The following may be named among the office-bearers :

Spiritual Section

1. Skushok—An incarnation of some saint.
2. Lobon—An abbot.
3. Chos-Timpa—Controller of the Lama meetings.
4. Chhomspom—Director of religious dances.

Temporal Section

1. Chhagzod—Treasurer.
2. Nyerchhen—Steward.
3. Nyerpa—Storekeeper.
4. Phi—Nyer—Farm-Steward.

The Skushok is the main hinge of this administrative machinery and his words are law for everybody in the Gunpa. He is the monarch of all he surveys and there is none to dispute his right. He possesses powers of appointment and dismissal of all office bearers. But he himself is a personality who is neither appointed or elected by anybody, nor does he succeed to his office by inheritance. He is always reborn in the Buddhist community according to their belief in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. As he walks along, all Buddhists take off their caps and bow in reverence. He raises his hand and touches their heads giving them blessings.

When a Skushok dies, all Lamas feel that a gem is lost and they all assemble in the main prayer hall to settle through whom to apply for a successor to the great Lama at Lhasa. It is generally the Chhagzod who has to make this application, but in case of his unfitness or absensce, some other capable Lama is entrusted with this delicate duty. When this application reaches the great Lama of Lhasa, he tells them in reply that their late Skushok is reborn in such and such a village and in such and such a house. To locate the house properly he indicates the direction to which its door lies, and if there be a dog in the house its description is also give. The name of the mother, the number of cattle and their description are also delineated. On this data the applicants proceed and call upon their new Skushok who, though an infant, converses with them in a befitting manner. Thereafter, they bring some things that belonged to him before his rebirth and place them before him mixed up with some articles belonging to other persons. He, it is said, recognizes his own articles, and this is the final test of his identification. After this, he when old enough is brought to rule over his own lamasery. In cases in which according to the calculations of the great Lama at Lhasa, a deceased Skushok has not yet been reborn, he will tell them the fact, and advise them to prolong their vigils and perform their Pujas (worship) with greater austerity, so that the calamity that has befallen them may disappear and their Skushok may again appear early in human form. The

Buddhists are thus staunch believers of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

Their conception of Divinity seems to be to believe in Konchoksum a combination of three precious elements (Tri Ratna), which are (a) Sangyas Konchok (Sakhi Muni Gautama Buddha) (b) Chhos Konchok (the principles of Dharma inculcated by their Lord Buddha) and (c) Gendun Konchok (the congregation of Lamas following this culture). Idolatry is another trait of their religious faith and it is not only the idol of Gautama Buddha that is worshipped, but there are other innumerable deities at whose altar they have to pay their homage.

There are two main subdivisions in Buddhims, the one is called Henayana or little vehicle and the other Mahayana or great vehicle. The first is represented by the sect of the yellow-robed Lamas while the other by red-robed Lamas. The yellow-robed preach the doing of good to all and shunning of evil, while the red-robed take the world to be an illusion or mirage where all are equal. As a general principle, according to Buddhism all are equal and it is the acts of each individual that will go to determine his ultimate lot. The yellow sect Lamas are the more reformed and are not religiously allowed to drink Chhang, or keep or marry a female. They can be likened to the protestants of the Christian faith or the Arya Samajis of the Hindu community. But the other sect has no such restrictions or formalities in its beliefs.

The Buddhists are very superstitious people and as such have a great faith in the influence of stars over the affairs of man and, therefore follow the dictates of Astrology. Their Onpo is their astrologer and astronomer combined who when consulted foretells the future events by readings from his Pothi or book on the subject. In all matters of birth and death, marriage and divorce, sickness and calamity his consultations are indispensable. He first tells them under what planetary evil influence they have come and then shows them the way to get over it, by the performance of certain Pujas (worship)

and his directions are followed to the very letter. No attempt is made to enquire how and why this unpropitious circumstance has befallen them, but when he says that they are under it, the only query is how they can shake it off. Sometimes he advises them to put up small flags with a cloth or paper attached to the flagstaff on which some "Mantras" (incantations) are written, on the top of the house or on high hills. The object in so doing is that the flutter of this banner by the wind would secure for them religious merit where by the calamitous forces would automatically be conquered.

(From *An Echo of the Unknown or Guide to Ladhak*, 1931)

Buddhists are thus staunch believers of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

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(From *An Echo of the Unknown or Guide to Ladakh, 1931*)



15

Trika Shastra—Indigenous Philosophy of Kashmir

By
Prem Nath Bazaz

Perhaps the most important of the achievements of ancient Kashmir is the system of thought called Shaivism but better known locally as Trika Shastra (the Three-fold Science) or simple Trika (the Triple). Its founder is Vasugupta, a venerable Brahman, who lived in the countryside at the foot of the Mahadeva mountain which overlooks the famous Dal Lake and the Shalimar Garden. He flourished in the eighth century of the Christian Era and is said to have initiated hundreds of Kashmiri scholars into the profound mysteries of his Philosophy.

Because of its geographical position as a central place surrounded by lands of different races and nationalities the Valley of Kashmir has been from times immemorial a meeting ground of various peoples and diverse cultures. Seeds of thought, come from all the four directions and mingled together in the fertile soil, grew into delicate plants bearing fragrant flowers of variegated colour. For over a thousand years in pre-Muslim period the valley was recognised in the Hindu world as a seat of learning, drawing hundreds of students from all parts of India as well as from lands now known as Afghanistan and Central Asia for the study of Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy and other subjects. In

the third century B.C. Ashoka conquered the valley and annexed it to his vast empire. He introduced Buddhism among the subjugated people and with the support of Naga intellectuals succeeded in undermining Brahmanism. Soon the new faith became very popular and the Buddhist philosophy dominated the entire political and social life of the people of Kashmir.

Clash of Religions

However, the ancestral religion could not be uprooted; its memories lingered on during the whole period of Buddhist supremacy. When with the change of times staunch adherents of Brahmanism regained power, they tried to revive the old traditions, and re-establish ancient schools of thought. This caused an intellectual upheaval followed by a gigantic clash of two religious philosophies antagonistic to each other. To resolve the tension and bring back composure of mind the mighty thinkers of the age exercising their faculty of creative thought evolved a new philosophy of life; this is Trika, a synthesis of fundamental doctrines of all the Indian philosophies plus the knowledge gained by the Kashmiri thinkers through their own contemplations, observations and experiences.

No philosophy was ever born in the mind of any single individual. Systems of thought have gradually evolved through long centuries in the minds of men belonging to successive generations and at a proper time assumed definite shape. Although the school of Kashmir Shaivism was founded in the eighth century by Vasugupta, traces of the philosophy can be found in the literature produced quite earlier dating back to pre-Christian era. A few imaginative persons have read the cardinal principles of Trika in the cuneiform signs on clay tablets of the Sumerian King Priest, Gudea. It may or may not be well founded speculation; but it seems plausible that in remote antiquity some sages were acquainted with the basic formulations of Trika Shastra. In his work *Shiv Drishti*

Somananda who lived in 2nd half of the 9th century narrates in outline the story of Trika. This is the earliest account of its traditional history. He claimed that the Philosophy was first formulated twenty generations (or roughly eight hundred years) before him. He has told us of the master minds who contributed to the evolution of the Trika thought before it was presented in a concise and accurate form only a hundred years before his own birth.

Cause of Shaivism

Another historian-philosopher Kshemaraja mentions the immediate cause of the founding of Kashmir Shaivism. According to him there prevailed two mutually conflicting systems of thought in the eighth century in the valley. One of them led by a Buddhist teacher Naga-Bodhi and his well disciplined band taught Nihilist doctrines; they had earned the sobriquets like *Nastiknam Pursara* (Front rank leaders of Nihilists) and *Atmeshvara Nirosaka* (Repellers of Atman and Ishvara). Opposed to them were *Nareshavarbhedvadina*, the adherents of dualistic system holding man and God eternally different from each other. Kshemraja says that the dust raised by the recurrent clashes of the zealots in the two schools concealed the monistic mysteries of Shaivism and the danger of its disappearance from the world was real. It was in these circumstances that Vasugupta came forward arraigning both the schools as incomplete and misguided. He propounded *Shiv Sutras*, a compendium in which the tenets of monistic idealism were succinctly adumbrated in a scholarly fashion.

Shiva Sutras

An amusing account has been given by a disciple of Vasugupta about the origin of Shiva Sutras. It is said when the great master perturbed by the blatant assertions of the Nihilists and the Dualists passed restless days and sleepless nights, Shiva taking pity on his devotee appeared to him in a dream and revealed the whereabouts of *Shiv Sutras*; they were

inscribed on a rock near Vasugupta's village. Awakening the blessed Brahmin lost no time in going to the spot, in copying out the text and in mastering the principles of the philosophy. The rock known as Shankar Pal has been located by modern antiquarians with the help of hoary tradition but the inscription is no more traceable. One wonders if anything in the nature of writing ever existed on the rock.

As the name indicates Trika Shastra deals with three objects, namely (a) man (b) the universe and (c) the principle that keeps on restoring order; equilibrium and harmony which are disturbed by constant change. Though more or less concerned with all three, the Trika is particularly interested in man and his personality.

Trika has also been described by certain writers as standing for : (a) the subject of experience (b) the experience and (c) the object of experience.

Spirit or Matter

In Trika spirit and matter are not two different things but are fundamentally one in two different forms. Spirit is matter and matter is not other than the spirit. Matter is not insert as is commonly believed. Being a form of the spirit it is of conscious character; only there exist variations of consciousness of the spirit within it. Differences between what we call living and non-living pieces of matter are nothing but those of degrees of consciousness. It follows from this process of thinking that life and matter are basically one; either can acquire the other state.

Trika believes in one reality—the unity that pervades the whole universe of animate and inanimate objects. It is defined as Parma Shiva, the universal consciousness which is self-luminous and illuminates all that exists in the universe whether in the living or the non-living form. Everything emanates from this effulgence and ultimately merges into it. This reality has two aspects, Prakash (light) and Vimarsh

(thinking); one is the being and the other awareness of the being. Prakash is what exists and Vimarsh the awareness of the existence of what exists.

Sankhya System

Of the well known six systems of Indian thought it is the Sankhya of Kapila which has comprehensively analysed the personality of man and discovered twenty-five elements composing it. The Trika philosophers have delved deeper and through close examination and experimentation found eleven new elements raising the number to thirty-seven; they have uncovered previously unknown layers of consciousness and regions of the sub-conscious states. What is more, they did not rest with mere description of the elements, old and new, but having analysed in detail man's physical, psychic, spiritual and moral personality the gifted expounders of Trika taught the method of knowing the constituent parts of direct experience, that is by realising them as facts and not mere figments of imagination. From the realm of subjectivity and speculation they advanced to the province of objective experimentation. This practical aspect of the Trika Shastra is known as Upaya (Means of Approach) and it is an inalienable part of the great works on the philosophy.

Philosophy of Change

Change is the first law of the universe, declares Trika; body, mind and spirit are subject to alteration from moment to moment; nothing remains static for even an infinitesimal fraction of time. But unaffected by this process is the consciousness of man which is eternal and the one witness of all that is undergoing the ceaseless change. It is described by the Trika as the nuclear core of the Atman. The changeless witness of the changing body, mind and spirit as well as the universe is no other than Shiva the All Powerful Lord who has no one above Him nor any one to second Him. The only reality is Shiva who is immutable, indestructible, infinite

consciousness and unrestricted independence. He has many other attributes like omnipresence and formlessness but Independence is very peculiar to him

The miseries and sufferings of man are caused by his ignorance. He identifies himself with body, mind or spirit or, worse still, with property owned by him. So long as he does this, he cannot be happy nor enjoy the spiritual bliss to which he is otherwise entitled. "Our bondage is due to our ignorance", declares the *Shiv Sutras*. "Though the soul is infinite consciousness, man thinks 'I am finite' though Independent he thinks 'I am finite body,'" observes Kshemendra in his commentary on the *Shiv Sutras*. "The soul forgets that the world has existence only in Shiva and that the soul is identical with the Lord. The aim of the Trika Shastra is to awaken man with the knowledge that the Atman, the witness, is no other than Shiva the All powerful Lord of the universe.

"No Maya" Principle

While synthesising the previous systems of the Indian philosophy the Kashmir thinkers sedulously discarded the barren parts represented by negativism, escapism, and unemotionalism of the Upanishadic Vedanta. In Trika there is no Maya, the principle which creates illusory forms. Even the existence of the promoting cause, Karma or a material cause, Prakriti, is not acknowledged. Shiva is absolutely free and creates as that exists under the influence of desire by the mere force of His will. He makes the world appear in Himself though it is not really so; just as the objects appear in a mirror. God is unaffected by objects of His creation as the minor is by the images reflected in it. (Indian Philosophy by Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vol. II, Page 732). In Trika, Shiva is represented as the symbol of the external process of destruction and creation. Shiva is Bhairava (Terrible) and also Kala (Time Destroyer); at the same time He is the deep-rooted instinct Love.

Absolute Monism

The Trika philosophy is characterized by absolute monism, depth of thought and originality. As has been tersely put: "Shiva is the subject, the experience as well as the experienced." (Spanda Karika, Page 5). Essentially it is an idealist philosophy unrelenting in its analysis and logic; but it does not shirk realism, the objective reality of the world; it is a fusion of all that is abiding in the Vedanta, the Sankhya, the Vaishashaka, the Nyaya and the Vinaya of Buddha; it also contains the core of Vaishnava and Shakta teachings especially the gospel of supreme love and all-absorbing devotion for the beloved. But Trika is against vulgarisation of the inner sentiment; it has no use for self-mortification as a way to self-realisation, so common among most Hindu sects. In the words of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Trika Shastra "has penetrated into that living depth of thought where diverse currents of human wisdom unite in a luminous synthesis."

Vast Literature

At one time a vast literature in the shape of books, dissertations compendiums, monographs and treatises dealing with different branches of Trika Shastra was in circulation in the Valley. The vagaries of time and hands of vandals have during the past centuries destroyed a large part of it; but the books which have survived and come down to us fairly represent the ideas and thoughts of the great teachers on the fundamental principles of the philosophy. Kashmir Shaivism has come to the notice of the outside world through the patient and laborious work of the Kashmir Government Research Department. Out of the extant volumes the Research Department has edited and published no fewer than 56 comprising 64 separate works of different authors. Broadly speaking the literature may be divided into four sections; (a) the Agama Shastra (b) the Spanda Shastra, (c) the Pratyabhijna Shastra, and (d) Tantra Shastra. The knowledge whose origin is shrouded in mystery and is therefore imagined to have

emanated from divine source as revelations to deserving seers is called Agama Shastra. Books belonging to this category are generally in the form of discourses between Shiva and Shakti. The Spanda Shastra is the science of the universe as an ever changing phenomenon. Authors of the treatises included in the section subject the ceaseless change to close scrutiny with the purpose of finding out the principles causing the change as well as the laws governing it. But the essence of Trika is contained in the Pratyabhijna Shastra which is also known as Ishvara Pratyabhijna Shastra (Science of Recognition of Lord). The voluminous literature on it is devoted to dissemination of knowledge. It endeavours to dispel ignorance of seeker after Truth; it teaches him to recognise the everlasting, indestructible and immutable consciousness underlying the universe and to identify individual consciousness with the universal consciousness. Thus alone can the goal of human life be attained and liberation from rebirth secured. In course of time many rituals grew around the Trika when it acquired the status of popular religion. The fourth section Tantra Shastra deal with this aspect. With the decline of philosophical thought more attention was paid to be rituals; a large number of books was written in the tenth and eleventh centuries on the topic; some of which are full of absurdities and puerile assumptions.

As already stated, the oldest known treatise on Kashmir Shaivism in *Shiv Sutras*; it is in aphorisms and very touch; not easily comprehensible by ordinary intellects. It belongs to the Agama section and a number of commentaries, annotations and footnotes have been appended to it by thinkers and learned men who followed the founder of the Trika School.

Commentaries

The most eminent disciple of Vasugupta was Kallata Bhatta. He wrote in the beginning of the ninth century two commentaries; *Spanda Karika* and *Spanda Vritti* on the *Shiv Sutras* to make the philosophy less difficult to understand. In his *Shiv Sutras Vartikam*, Bhaskara, who lived a century later,

too, commented upon the original text but from a different standpoint and claimed authority for his views having learned them through traditional interpretation as his inheritance. But the most prolific writer on Spanda Shastra was Kshemaraja who annotated *Shiv Sutras* in his *Vimarshini*, a lucid, clear and scholarly version which has hardly been rivalled by any other commentator on the subject. Kshemaraja is the author of several other books of which important are: (1) *Spanda Doha*, (2) *Spanda Nirnaya*; and (3) *Prayabhijna Hridayam*. He also wrote commentaries on two Agama books, namely, *Vijnana Bhairva* and *Svachhanda Tantram*.

Genius of Somananda

Barely a hundred years after the founding of the Trika School came Somananda, a genius, who, laid greater emphasis on the Pratyabhijna aspect of the philosophy. For that reason he is acknowledged as the real founder of the school. His dazzling thoughts in *Shiv Drishti* already referred to above have inspired scholars through centuries and provoked not a few to write commentaries on it. He expatiated on these ideas in another book, *Ishvara Pratyabhijna*, of no less merit but with the additional qualification of being in simple language. The best commentary on *Shiv Drishti* is by the distinguished Utpala who flowered into eminence in the opening years of the tenth century. His two books *Pratyabhijna* and *Stotravali* are given a place of authority on Shaivism. Other important philosophical works by Utpala are: (1) *Ajada Pramatr Siddhi*, (2) *Ishvara Siddhi*, and (3) *Sambhanda Siddhi*. Utpala's genius consisted in combining Jnana (knowledge) with Bhakti (devotion) and then utilising them in the path of dedicated service; to him work was worship; he was opposed to the doctrine of idle inactivity. Utpala was fond of likening God-realisation to the recognition of a long lost friend by meeting him face to face and not by reading or hearing an account of him or even by seeing a photograph of him. The recognition he used to say must be direct, clear and vivid.

Abhinavagupta

In the middle of the tenth century arose Abhinavagupta who excelled his predecessors in many respects and topped the list of idealist philosophers in Kashmir. He was a creative thinker, a penetrating commentator and a ritualist. His interest were not confined to the Trika Shastra but extended to different branches of literature. Besides being the most erudite exponent of the Shaiva Philosophy, he was a literary critic. His well stocked and rich mind produced books on Dramaturgy, Rhetoric and Philosophy of poetry. He was born between 950-960 A. D. and lived to a ripe old age. He wrote more than thirty books.

Abhinavagupta's philosophical productions included original work as well as illuminating commentaries on the treatises of the old masters. His monumental book *Tantra Loka* is classed by itself as the encyclopediad of the monastic idealism of Kashmir. It comprise 5,800 stanzas and is divided into 37 chapters. But it is abstruse, mystical and dry; it taxes one's power of understanding and reasoning; only scholars with adequate knowledge of different philosophies and rituals are able to grasp the subtle mysteries that the author wants to convey. It appears Abhinavagupta was aware of the toughness of his work; therefore he took pains to compile a smaller treatise *Tantra Sara* to serve as an introduction to the bigger and tougher work. He has recommended it for the beginner; it is written in easy words and the ideas are expressed in a simpler form. Another book by Abhinavagupta is *Parmartha Sara* an admirable synthesis of Sankhya and Vedanta systems in the light of Trika principles. Among his more known commentaries on Agama Shastras are: (1) *Malinivijayottara Tantra* and (2) *Para Trimshika*. His brilliant commentary on Somananda's *Ishvara Pratybhijna* called *Vimarshini* is in no way less important than his original works. Some scholars hold that for its value as a book on philosophy it merits greater praise than any other production of the author.

A Set Back

Abhinavagupta lived in a village near Magam on road to Gulmarg. It is said that on reaching the venerable age of 80 the philosopher, along with twelve hundred of his chosen disciples, changing the melodious hymn beginning with the words *Vyaptacharachar* (Pervading the animate and the inanimate), composed by himself in praise of Shiva, entered the Bhairva cave in a mountain adjacent to his birth place and was never seen again. Since then the hymn has attained great significance and sung in Hindu homes on occasions of religious ceremonies especially on Shivratri, the national festival of the Kashmiri Hindus.

With the passing away of Abhinavagupta creative thinking in the valley received a set back. Perhaps he had set the standards too high; or probably decline of Hindu rule was adversely affecting cultural growth. Book continued to be written but none of the writers, who came after him contributed anything original to the Trika Shastra. Among these later authors mention may be made of Kshemendra, Jayaratha and Yogaraja. The last of the Kashmiris to bend his mental faculty in this direction was Shivo-padhyay who wrote a commentary on *Vijnana Bhairava* in 1775 A. C.



16

Ancient Temples of Kashmir

*By
C.G. Bruce*

Every country of importance has had a religious past, and even if the present finds ruined temples, the fact remains that those lofty arches and massive blocks of masonry were quarried and erected, bit by bit, by a people who expended their best on a building which was to be set aside for worship.

The ruined temples of Kashmir are solid, and simple of design, and yet they have fluted pillars and trefoiled arches which trace their origin to an artisitic source. The Keynote of some of these old temples is decidedly Grecian in character, which would be accounted for, as we have seen, by their erection by so gifted and widely informed a person as Akbar.

The best situated of the present ruins, though not the best preserved nor the finest, is the temple dome crowning the summit of the hill above Srinagar. The Takt-i-Suleiman, as it is named, is an object for an early morning ride, well worth the trouble of such a climb as it entails. Paving-stones mark the winding way, which zigzags up the face of the hill, and presently you emerge on a platform 1,000 feet above the plains, while Kashmir and its surrounding mountain ranges lie spread out beneath you in a wide bird's-eye view.

There was an older temple still on the same site, which was built by the son of the Great Asoka, of which very little is left; but the present one is hoary enough to command our

respect and to form a link with the past, as the date of this one even is said to be about 250 A.D.

Another temple ruin is in the Lidar valley at Bhaumjo, about the same date; there is also a great column standing on the road to Islamabad, 24 miles from Srinagar, and several others in various parts. But the best remains of all are to be found at Martand in the Lidar valley. This temple was built on a superb site: a gentle slope of grassland, with snowy mountains as a background, and close at hand are stretches of fertile valley, fine trees, and streams of cool water under their shade. This is the only temple which possessed what we name, in our cathedrals chancel choir, nave, and transepts. Although it is in ruins, we can still see what a grand pile it must once have been. The height is reported to have been 75 feet.

There was a wide flight of stone steps up to a splendid trefoil arch. On each side was a small chapel with lofty arch. On each side was a small chapel with lofty arches, said to have been built by the queen of King Ramaditya, who lived, we believe, in the beginning of the sixth century. This was over four hundred years before the battle of Hastings, and the temple was mentioned in the records of the King of Kashmir, Lalitaditya, who reigned from 693 to 729 A.D. There was also a wide quadrangle, 220 feet by 142, supported by carved pillars, and eighty four columns carried the roof, which no longer exists.

If the outside influence which was great enough to raise such temples as these in a strange country hundreds of miles from the seat of rule, had only been as practical and benevolent as it was powerful, the story of Kashmir would have been very different. The origin of these temples was not based on any specially religious turn of mind of the people themselves, and the rulers succeeding Ashoka were not filled with his religious zeal, though Lalitaditya revived it. After his death the succession of his worthless son brought another

sad period, which only served to make his reign stand out as a vivid contrast.

In 1586 the best thing possible happened for Kashmir in its conquest by the Great Akbar, who lived at the same time as our Queen Elizabeth, and for two hundred years Kashmir remained part of the Mogul dominions.

The fort outside Srinagar, Hari Parbat, which is still used as quarters for troops and stores, was built by Akbar on one of his three visits to Kashmir.

As the power of the Mogul emperors declined the old evils in Kashmir revived, and become even worse. Once more it was the scene of cruelty oppression, and poverty. The worst time of all was when it was dominated by the Afghans. As under the imperious Duchess in Alice in Wonderland, the standing order of the day was "Off with their heads." The unfortunate people were even sewn up in sacks by twos and threes and sunk in the lake. They were even spiteful enough to spoil the beautiful Mogul gardens on the Dal Lake.

At last, in their despair, they be sought the help of the great Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh. This was in 1819, and Kashmir was once more annexed by a foreign power.

As rulers of other religious beliefs came to Kashmir they generally destroyed to a certain extent the buildings they found, and as the religious fervour melted, the temples, no longer protected from any destructive influences, gradually crumbled to ruin. It has often been noticed that the decay of religion marks the decay of a country, and Kashmir, though she had been given a good chance, lost her place in the race of human prosperity.

With the decline of Buddhism the Hindu religion took its place about the eleventh century. Again It was changed about two hundred years later for Mahomedanism, and back again to Hinduism, and so on. The country people are now chiefly of the religion of Mahomed but the Maharajah and townsfolk are Hindus by faith. They all seem to pull along,

however, possibly because their religion is more inspired by letter than by the spirit.

The religion of Kashmir in these days is just about as mixed as possible, partly Mahomedan, partly Hindu, with the worship of saints and the fear of demons still prevalent. This is not surprising considering the many changes of faith forced upon the people by changes of rule.

The most ancient of all worship, even before Buddhism was brought in, was Nag or snake worship. The people imagined that huge snakes lived in every mountain, and especially near the springs at their foot. They used to build tanks at these spots, which the snake god was to occupy at his pleasure. Their veneration for snakes was no doubt dictated more by fear than reverence; but fear lessened by degrees, and a regular worship grew out of the ideas produced by old legends.

The syllable Nag, which is part of the names of many places in Kashmir, has been given from the place being dedicated to one of these snake gods. We find Vernag, "the place of many springs and the snake," Nagmarg, the alp of the snake, and so on. We know that in our own old Bible history the people of Israel were healed by worshipping the form of a serpent, even though it was the faith which really pulled them through. Then there is the serpent of the garden of Eden, a demon much feared. The origin of the Chinese dragon may possibly be traced to Nag worship, though it is also supposed to have been from the legends of terrible prehistoric monsters which have been handed down. Our own dragons, too, show that our ancient history was much like any other. The strange thing about Kashmiris is that they seem to know nothing about their fine old temple remains. If we question them, the answer will probable be that they are just "old praying places" built in the old days; but even the Pundits, or educated people seem to care nothing for their antiquities, as, for instance our old country folk care for our Druidical or Roman remains.

It is a pity to see the Kashmir ruins going from bad to worse. A special department is much needed, so that there may be some one to preserve them from further ruin. Very likely many interesting relics of the old cities might be found buried in their ruined sites.

On one of the many tablelands or flat part of the valley where the Lower hills slope up to the mountains, there are some curious old stones firmly imbedded in the ground, from which they project about four feet. They are shaped something like blunt arrowheads, and the people will tell you that they are arrows which were shot from the bows of the gods in defence of the men of the valley at a time when they were preyed upon by huge giants, who devoured them by way of refreshment after their huge wrestling bouts. The undulations of the grassy ground are said to be the result of the pommelling of great knees and elbows.

Saint worship is very popular in Kashmir, especially among the boatmen, and the chant we heard as one of those dredging barges passed us on the Dal lake was an invocation to same special saint.

Every village has its shrine or miniature temple. But that their religion consists in keeping the outside of the platter clean is proved by the fact that most villagers in any position of trust will keep three accounts: one for the eye of his superior, one for its subordinates, while the correct one, showing real returns, is the one which lives in his own pocket and is consulted by him self alone.

The contrast between temples ancient and modern is amazing and yet it is an accordance with the history of the people. They did not of themselves build the solid shrines of worship which continue even now to attract veneration, and we have only to visit Srinagar to see how true this is. The principal mosque is built of wood, and has beautifully carved cedarwood pillars. Among the temple roofs we can see, both Hindu and Mahomedan, is one called the Golden Temple. Its burnished roof of gold lacquer is still preserved, but other

domes glint silver in the bright sunshine. Alas, some of them are only plated with old kerosene tins.

There is another temple, the daintiest and prettiest thing imaginable. In the spring, on the edge of the river, it makes a vivid bit of colouring, though built of humble whitewashed plaster. Its roof is a garden of purple iris and pink and white tulips. Brass bells and an elegant spire complete the feminine appearance of this little mosque of the twentieth century.

In future times no one will visit the ruins of that fairylike mosque, for it is built of mud, and to mud it will return. No one surely will care to visit, in days to come, any but a small minority of the religious edifices of this or last century, whether East or West. We count the cost too carefully for one thing, and Time will not wait as he did, or seemed to do, in old days.

Missionary zeal is no less—we will hope the right king is even greater than in past years—and no doubt there is a great deal of true Christian faith and endeavour among people who cannot as yet profess it openly. But most important of all is a spread of practical Christianity which shall alter the lives of people who have been accustomed to look on their religion as separate from their daily tasks and pleasures. We want to teach truth for the sake of goodness not for any advantage it may produce. We want to teach true strength in place of tyranny and abuse of power. We also want to teach that cleanliness is next to godliness, and love one's neighbour of more importance than prayers on the high road. The practical example of British men and women is the leaven which is gradually if slowly spreading, and this is as important, even more so, than teaching only the letter of our religion.

(1915)

17

Buddhism in Ladakh

*By
Sarla Khosla*

A modified form of Indian Buddhism is the religion of Ladakh. According to popular belief Asoka's missionaries are believed to have penetrated into Ladakh and propagated Buddhism in about 250 B. C. It is certain that Buddhism became firmly rooted in the land in the 1st Century A.D. when Kanishka sent 500 Buddhist missionaries for the propagation of the faith in Tibet. If Cunninghams identification of Kia-Che with Ladakh is to be believed. Fa-hein is the earliest historical figure who noticed Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Ladakh in 400 A.D. According to the Chinese pilgrim the doctrine of Hinayana form or lesser vehicle of Buddhism prevailed in Ladakh.

Ladakh and Sects of Buddhism Past and Present

As Ladakh had been a part of Chinese Tibet, the seed of its religion are traced in Tibetan and Chinese literature. According to Chinese tradition Rationalists or Tao-Sse doctrine was founded by Laotze (604-523 B.C.), known as Sen-rabs to Tibetan Buddhists. His faith flourished for nine centuries until Buddhism became the popular religion of the country. Kah-gyur, Tibetan Buddhist Voluminous works is the translation of Sanskrit Tripitaka or three repositories Vinaya, Sutra and Abhidharma. Its Tibetan version is divided into seven distinct classes, having 'Gyut' the last, which contains Tantra or mystical doctrine.

Fa hein (400 A.D.) has mentioned about the worship of Buddha and the great quinquennial Assembly of Monks, but has not referred to Padmapani and the system of Dhyanis Buddhas and Bodhisathvas. Padmapani, Manjus'ri and Avlokiteswara are worshipped in Ladakh, though reverence to Buddha is still found.

Tantrism and worship of Bodhisattvas as in literature so in practice seem to be later additions

As in India so in Tibet and Ladakh the fluctuations in the belief of different doctrines seem to have been introduced from time to time. At present there are two prominent sects of Buddhism: Red Sect and Yellow Sect. The aim of both the sects is the attainment of Nirvana.

Red Sect : This is the most ancient sect of Buddhism and is known as Nyimpa. This is very popular in Ladakh and Ngari. It was founded by Padma Sambhava in 749 A.D. Who founded Lamaism also in the country. Red sect believes in Tantraism and Padmapani is worshipped as their Guru. They believe Nirvana can be attained in this very life. To quote Hoffmann the mystics strive in isolation to bring all sufferings to an end by mantras and thus attaining perfect equanimity". "When evil omens occur take them as good fortune" is the axioms of Pha-dam-pa as quoted by Sum-pa. The followers of this sect wear red cap and red clothes. They claim the monasteries of Hemis, Chameray, Fhyang Taktak and Stakna.

Yellow Sect : Was founded by Geluk-pa Tsang-Khapa in 14th century A.D. The founder of this sect built the temple of Gahldan. He was the first great Khanpo (abbot) to occupy the Gahlden chair, which is filled by the succession of abbots to this day. Dalai Lama of Lhasa and Tashi Lama of Tashi Lhunpo belong to this sect.

Yellow Sect does not believe in tantraism. Nirvana according to them is attained by following the teaching of Sakya-muni (Buddha). The followers of this sect wear yellow cap and yellow robes.

Lamas : A monk is called Lama, a nun, Tsomu or Ani. Lamas have their heads shaved of hair cropped short and move about bare headed or wear upturned flaps.

Though this is the common-folk's unchanged style, modern sophisticated Ladakhis crop their hair in Western style. They wear felt instead of old fashioned caps, own wrist or pocket watches and pens.

Lamas of both the sects are considered incarnate Lamas. If the head Lama of a particular monastery dies, he is replaced by his incarnation Lama. The selection is made from the newborn babies under five years, with the help of oracle and with some spiritual sign found in the baby.

Lamaston : Lamas cremate the dead body chanting rituals, as is the custom amongst Hindus. The Hindus never or seldom keep the dead body for twenty four hours or more, whereas the Bhots or Bhods keep the corpse for many days. They read the religious scriptures by the sides of dead for a week or so, for longer or shorter period according to the status of the deceased. This ceremony is called "Lamaston". Lamas live in monasteries as well as in villages. They take part in the tilling of fields and other works connected with the daily life of a monastery. Nearly every village in Ladakh has a small or big monastery, where live, one or hundreds of Lamas or monks. Every family in ladakh has at least one representative in the monastery. The head lama in Ladakh is known Shu Shok, and is considered to have attained Nirvana (freedom from death and birth circle) in this very life.

Nuns : Women like men adopt Red or Yellow Sect, and nuns of both the sects live in Monasteries or villages like Lamas. As Nunnaries are established in the neighbourhood of monasteries, now-a-days, sometimes the nuns are engaged to cook for Lamas living in the Monasteries.

If a woman merely shaves her head and goes to a monastery, she becomes a nun, if she wants to go away, she

lets her hair grow and pays a small fine and leaves the monastery.

Monasteries : Ladakh the land of Lamas is dotted with monasteries or Gumpas, which are massive structures built on hill tops or elevated places. There are fourteen major monasteries. Prayer-cylinders are fixed at the entrance of every monastery and are turned by the votaries before entering. Sometimes a courtyard on all sides is fitted with them and at others they are kept in constant motion by water-power. This is the "revolving cylinder" of Fa-hein which he did not find anywhere in India. It is also seen in the hands of Indo-scythian princes on their coins.

This prayer-cylinder the *mani-chhos-khor* or the precious religious wheel is ingenious instrument made of metal. Its body is three inches in height and two to two and a half inches in diameter. The cylinder is filled with rolls of printed prayer and charms, which revolve as the instrument is turned round. Some of them have the sacred sentence of the holy *Sadak Shara Mantra* 'Aum Mani Padme Hun' engraved on them outside.

The pious Ladakhi while turns this wheel in a monastery, gazes, in reverence, at the bronze images, delicate tapestries, frescoes and paintings on its walls and pillars.

In addition to this there are two more ritualic instruments: bell and sceptre(or thunderbolt). Bell is used while performing daily service. Sceptre or Dorje, is the Vajra and is said to have flown away from India and alighted at Sera and Tibet. It is called Sera-pun-dze in Tibetan. Every year a festival is celebrated in its honour and is one of the principle religious ceremonies. It is carried by Lamas every year, in a procession from Sera to Potala. There, it is presented to Dalai Lama, who makes a salutation to it. The ministers and other officials also pay their respects and offer money and other suitable presents. After this ceremony it is taken back to Sera with the same solemnity.

In addition to bells, cylinders and sceptre, monasteries keep images of Buddha or some other Gods or of sophisticated Lamas to be adorned. The image room is generally a fine lofty square room. The images are made of metal, gilt, or gaudily-painted clay. Its walls are generally adorned with paintings. It is decorated with banners having finely worked curious devices on them. In addition to daily prayers, Lamas occasionally assemble in the image room, worship, offer grains, butter etc. and dance to the tune of orchestral music of drums, pipes and cymbals. Their dances are reminiscent of Indian Mudras. Paintings, frescoes, woodcarvings etc. radiate with Indian influence.

In every monastery there are two head Lamas, one is the spiritual leader and other is the manager of its temporal affairs. Some of the Monasteries are endowed by state help or have monastery land while most of them depend upon the alms given to them by the villagers. Almost all the peasants donate a portion of their produce. Every monasteries feeds and clothes Lamas, but Rizong Gumpa and Samseanling Gumpa of Yellow Sect are very famous for this work. The monasteries in Ladakh are like modern school-hostels. Every monk is provided with a room and a kitchen, where he cooks for himself. Sometimes nuns are called to cook for him.

Monasteries in Ladakh are not only prayer-houses or abodes of Lamas, but they are repositories of literature, philosophy etc. as well. The most important Ladakhi religious cannons are *Kangyur* with 108 volumes, *Stangyur* with 200 volumes and *Urgyan Lamayik* by Lama Staktsang Rospa. The famous *Sungyur* by Chultan Nima, was published nearly eighty years back. Its blocks are still laying in the monasteries of Hemis Gumpa and Rizom.

Annual Festival : Every monastery in Ladakh celebrates its annual festival. Prayers different from daily prayers are offered. The special feature of the festival is the mystery play and special dances which represent the fight between the evil and the good. The play and the dances are staged by Lamas who are actors, musician, instrument-players e.g. drum-beaters

and dancers. The play is generally staged in the courtyard of the monastery in spring season or rarely in the image-room.

The mask-dance of Hemis monastery is of great importance and fame. Mask dance is the imitation of Chinese devil-dance and is performed by Lamas in the annual festival. The designs on rich silken robes of the Lamas are from the Celestial empire, most of the Masks represent the wild heads of animals though they include some of orges and demons. A sort of wild dance is performed in the courtyard of the monastery round a flagstaff in the centre. The dancers whirl, flying their limbs about, while revolving round the centre pole.

The Religious Buildings in Ladhak

The principal religious buildings in Ladakh are of many types.

1. *Monasteries of Gumpas* are build at solitary places according to the directions of Sakya Muni. Convents are separate buildings attached but walled off from the rest of the monastery.
2. *The Khang* "Gods houses" or temples, consist of single square-room filled with images and pictures, which are generally about half-life size and are made of unburnt clay and painted. In bigger temples the images are of larger size and are made of metal.
3. *Labrang* generally the Lamas live in monasteries, but where there are no such buildings they live in separate houses of this name.
4. *Chhod-Ten* or *Chhorton* or Chaitya, an offering, is a dedicatory building or pyramid erected in honour of Sakya Thubba or of some holy Buddha or Bodhisstavas. It has a square basement and is surmounted by four steps, on which stands the dome or principal post of the edifice. It is an inverted truncated cave in shape. The dome is surmounted

by a lofty pinnacle which varied from 15-30 feet in height. It is crowned with the holy emblem of Chhos-Konchok (or Dharma). The basement of Supreme-Buddha is bedecked with a pair of eyes showing that he was the "eye of the universe".

5. *Dung-Tan*, a bone holder or relic-repository. It is erected either at the corpse of a Lama or over the ashes of a king or a person of great importance. It is similar to Chhod-Ten in shape. The ashes are placed in Urn along with numerous other relics.

Mani or dyke or pile of stones are ten ft. to half a mile long, four to five feet high and six to twelve feet broad thickly built up walls, having surface covered with inscribed slabs. The usual inscription is the sacred mantra. Aum Mani-padme, while the other formulae such as Aum Vajra, etc. are also found. All these mantras are generally inscribed in Tibetan characters but sometimes medieval Devanagari letters, called *Lantsha* are also used.

Occasionally the stones with inscribed formulae are fixed on the hill-side. They are so vast in size as to be visible from considerable distances. Very large Mani are found near Leh by the road sides and near the villages. The inscribed slabs are offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of particular object.

With the advent of the civilization this practice is losing importance.

Tsha-khang is an Image Room which contains images and little medallion-figure of a Lama, made of a little portion of his ashes mixed with clay (gaudily painted). Sometimes it is made of metal. The room is also furnished with numerous instruments of worship. The daily prayers are performed at sun-rise and sunset. During the prayers incense is kept burning and offerings of fruit, grain and even meat are made to the figures of Sakya Thubba etc. No women, not even nuns enter the image room.

The custom of making Tsha or medallion figure of Lama and placing them in the "image room" of a monastery, seems to be borrowed from India. Pratimanataka of Bhasa narrates: Bharata on his return to Ayodhya from his maternal uncle's home saw Dasratha's Pratima (statue) added to his predecessors in the *pratima*-hall and came to know about his father's death. This *Nataka* is based on Ramayana.

This custom prevails at present in various villages of Jammu province as well. There are many such statues lying by the side of rivers, streams, springs and sometimes enshrined in small temples. The only difference is that there is no special image-temple to store a large number of images.

Ladhak and Tantrism

The tantric ideas of Vedas (especially Atharvaveda) played a great part on the Indian mind. Even Buddhism could not dispense with them. The Tantrics recognise no difference between name and form and according to them even a syllable or Bijamantra, can represent Skandas, which contains all power. These magic formulae or Dharnis were borrowed by Buddhists from Vedas and are mentioned in Dhamma-pada's commentary (450 A.D.) Mill-an-a-panho, Cullavagga, Jataka tales, Digha Nikaya and Lankavatara Sutra.

The earliest Mahayana text to contain Dharnis is Saddharma Pundarika (1st Century A.D.). It contains a Dharni consecrated to the glory of Bhaisajya Guru. It is translated into Chinese and Tibetan as well (Nanjie Catt. 172) Gilgit MSS, which are the earliest MSS discovered from Gilgit near Kashmir, contain a record of many Dharnis. They include Bhaisajya Guru Sutra and Hayagriva Vidya etc. The Tibetan title of the latter is Avalokiteswara Hayagriva Dharni, which evokes a horse faced deity and is associated with Avalokiteswara.

These Dharnis if repeatedly uttered by the reciters protect them from all harms. The exact date of the penetration of

Tantric formulae of Dharnis and Tantric gods and goddesses in Ladakh is difficult to ascertain. The idealistic Bodhisattva philosophy was borrowed from Shiva, Vishnu and Vedanta and the worship of goddess was borrowed by the Buddhists from Shiva and his spouse.

Shiva Tantrism existed in Kashmir. Since the beginning of Shiva worship, Kalhana associated tantra in the valley with Shiva. Kashmir has played a very important part in spreading and making Buddhism a popular religion in Tibet, Leh etc. It can therefore easily be presumed that with the popularity of Buddhism Tantra was also given importance in these countries.

Popular Tantras

Aum, Mani-padme-hum; Aum-Vajra Pani- hun and Aum Vagiswari hum

are sacred mantras of Ladakhis. They are inscribed on slabs covering the surface of the Mani walls and are generally found in Tibetan and sometimes in Devnagari characters. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular objects. Does a childless man wish for a son, or merchant about travel hopes for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of winter, each goes to a Lama and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the village Mani and returns to his home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard.

The most popular six syllabled mantra "Aum-Mani padmehun" is not only found on Manis, but is considered as the holiest mantra. It is printed and filled in the precious religious wheel perpetually turned by a gentle motion by Lamas. This prayerwheel is found in the hands of every old Lama in Ladakh. When monks perform prayer in the monasteries, they mutter the mantra, repeatedly while revolving the prayer-cylinder with all devotion. Every Buddhist in Ladakh has unshakable faith in its efficacy.

Lamas do not confine themselves to the recitation of six-syllabled mantra mentioned above and Dulva or Do. They occasionally proclaim aloud the numerous titles of Buddha, mystical sentences peculiar to various Bodhisattvas, Tantrika-Saktis, furious Kali (Chandi) etc. The famous Grol-ma (Tara) mantra to evoke mercy is "Namah Simanta Buddhanam; Karnodhbhav Tara, Tarani, Swaha".

The Avalokiteswara Mantra "Namah Simanta Buddhaman; Sarva Tathagata Avalokita, Karna, Maya; Ra-ra-ra-Mun Jah Swaha".

Tantrism in Ladakh and Tibet is so deeply rooted that even the Yellow Sect which does not believe in Tantrism has a Sutra called Ratnarasi which propagates the effective influence of the dress. It is "O Kasyapa—who wears the yellow-robe on his body must be free from moral stain For the elect, Kasyapa, it is the banner, they are the garments of those that practise renunciation, that they are disposed to calmness, that they are devoted to friendliness".

Tantric Gods

Tantric Gods are the favorites of Red—Sect and were the popular subjects of Tibetan painters and sculptors. Many Gods and goddesses including multi-headed and multi-armed are found in the monasteries, pillars, hoems etc. of Ladakh.

The Tantra Vargchuk or Iswara is always represented as Chun-sum-pa (Trilochna, the three eyed) whose body is usually painted blue or red. His loins are covered with leopard's skin and has generally a snake round his waist. He has Dorje (Vajra or thunderbolt) or sharp cutting sword in his right hand and is generally shown trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented frantic with anger, "his eyes staring, his nostrils dialated and his mouth wide open, while his whole body is surrounded by flames"

The Tantric female deity Tedde-phang-mo (or Kali) is always painted of red-colour, wearing a garland of skulls.

She is shown as having Vajra in her right hand and a cup of blood in her left hand, which she carries to her mouth sometimes she is represented as Trilochana and is surrounded by a circle of flames. She holds a long sceptre surmounted by skulls.

Religious Paintings

Paintings seem to have been given great importance in Tibet and Ladakh. All the images made of clay are painted. The bodies of Shakya-Thubba or Buddha, which are represented seated in the monasteries are always painted yellow, usually gilt, and their hair are shown short, curly and of blue colour.

Chaurazek or Avalokiteswara and Chhos-Konchok or Dharma are represented in white colour.

Jamaya or Manjusri and Lagna-Dorje or Vajrapani hold lotus in their left and right hands respectively and their bodies are painted yellow.

Thunshak or Amongha Siddha with his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching and left hands placed in the lapse, is shown of green body.

Grolma or Tara, the Sakti or the Female energy of Amogha Siddha is painted green.

In Tantrism cosmic colours play a most important part and all the deities have individual colours. It seems, it is due to Tantric effects upon Ladakh Buddhism, that different gods and goddesses are painted in different colours.

The most famous clay painted image is of one thousand headed and one thousand handed Avalokiteswara (15th century A.D.) found at Shankar Gumpa Leh.

The wheel of life (Bhava-Chakra) depicting the transmigration belief belonging to 18th Century is found at Hemis Monastery at Ladakh and the wheel of existence

legati vel vivos existire finixerunt, vel Macedones eorum Lingua minus intellexerunt. — Page 994 and note. R. P. Knight, in his "Inquiry into the Symbolical language of Ancient Art and Mythology," (Classical Journal, Vol. xxiii,p.14) states upon the authority of Maximin of Tyre, that when Alexander entered India, "Taxillus, a powerful prince, of the country' was the raja of "Takshasilas)" showed him a serpent of enormous size, which he nourished with great care, and revered as the image of the God whom the Greek writers from the similitude of his attributes called Dionysus or Bacchus." Whether the Kashmirian worship of snakes was mystical, at least in the earliest ages, maybe questioned. There is likewise reason to suppose that this worship was diffused throughout the whole of India, as besides the numerous fables and traditions relating to the Nagas or snake gods, scattered through the Puranas, vestiges of it still remain in the actual observances of the Hindus. It seems not improbable that the destruction of the whole serpent race by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, recorded in the Puranas as a historical fact, may in reality imply the subversion of the local and original superstition, and the erection of the system of the Vedas upon its ruins.

19

Mediaeval Visnu Images from Kashmir and some Visnudharmottara Passages

*By
Jitendar Nath Banerjee*

In the mediaeval temples of Kashmere, Visnu is usually represented with four faces and four or eight arms; in the bas-reliefs, however, he is shown with three faces only, all of which are not human. Reliefs carved on the western walls of the ante-chamber in the Martanda temple built during the time of Lalitaditya, the great Kashmerian King of the Karkota dynasty, depict the god with three faces, the left face being that of a boar and the right, that of a lion. Similar is the representation of Visnu in the Avantisvamin temple of Avantipur (modern Wantipur). In both the places, the god is eight-armed, two of their hands being placed on the heads, of the chauri-bearers who are, as will be presently shown, the Ayudhapurusas. Many of these reliefs are so mutilated that the emblems in their hands cannot be correctly identified. But the images of Visnu which are fully in the round never fail to show the fourth head at the back. The fragmentary sculpture, No. Aa 21, in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, has the front and side faces as in the above reliefs, the back face being that of a demon; its mutilated condition does enable us to be sure about the attributes in all the four hands, but the front right hand undoubtedly holds a lotus. The beautiful

sculpture, fully in the round, illustrated by R. C. Kak in page 50 and described by him in pages 49-51, of his Handbook, however, supplies us with all the necessary details that must have been present in the other sculpture when it was whole. One other specimen of these four-faced images of standing Visnu is known to me, which originally hailed from Benares. B.C. Bhattacharya discovered this image which is unfortunately very much mutilated; the four faces are, however, quite intact, all its hands and the portion below the waist being broken. The front face is human, placid in aspect, while the right and left faces are that of Narasimha and Varaha, the back face being horrid-looking with round protruding eyes, lolling tongue, jatas over the head, etc. Bhattacharya has rightly drawn our attention to the iconographic text compiled by Hemadri from Visnudharmottara, which would partially explain this type of image; it says that 'Visnu, the god of the gods, should be shown on Garuda; he should have four faces and eight hands; the eastern face will be placid in form, the southern one that of Narasimha and the western (*i.e.*, the back face) should be Kapila and the other face (*i.e.*, the northern or left one, should be of Varaha". It should be noted that a text similar to the above must have been, followed in the carving of the Kashmerian four-faced images of Visnu, as it is expressly mentioned by Kak that the back face is demoniacal in character. The Martanda temple specimens, as has been pointed out above, are eight-armed, but the objects in the hands are undistinguishable; the Avantipur ones, one the other hand, are four-handed and the Benares specimen also seems to have been so.

Some passages from the third book of the Visnudharmottara enable us to throw more light on the above types of Visnu images. In the verses 2-14 of chapter 85 of the work (Book III), an elaborate description of the images of Vasudeva are given; in verses 16-20 in the same chapter, an explanation about the real nature of the attributes in the hands of the god is supplied to us; then verses 21-26 describe the

images of Samkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; again, in verses 29-37 are incorporated the names and real nature of the eight attendants of the four above-named deities; lastly the eight devaganas, viz. anima, laghima, prapti, prakamya, Isitva vasitva and kamavasavita (the eight yogic siddhis, the attainment of which is the desire of every yogin) are associated in batches of two with each of the four gods, in verses 39-41. After all this Markandeya tells Vajra that "what has been narrated to him is the Caturmurti of the lord; but if the four are combined into one, the composite image should be called Vaikuntha, and it should be four-faced-by making the god four-faced the one god becomes four-formed; the eastern (*i.e.*, the central, because the deity faces east) face, the most important of the four, should be placid in aspect; the right face, of the lustre (form) of a lion, should typify knowledge; the western face should be terrific which is called (typifies) prosperity; another form of four-faced (image of the lord) is to be made as I have expounded". This interesting passage should be compared with the other description of the four-faced image of Visnu from the same work noticed above (Bk. III, ch 44, verses 9-13). The Varaha face is not explicitly mentioned here and the back face is named raudra in place of Kapila (or Kapila). But there can be very little doubt that both descriptions fit in the case of the same types of images, as regards the number of the faces; in the case of the present text the god is named Vaikuntha caturmurti who is four-handed while in the case of the other, the deity is Visnu, one of the triad (Trimurti-Brahma, Visnu and Siva), but the number of his hands is given as eight. The Visnudharmottara, while further describing the Krsna (evidently Vasudeva)form of the lord, explains the real nature of his four faces, eight hands vanamala Garuda and other accessories. It is expressly mentioned there that " mind, which is in the body of all beings, is to be known as Garuda, than whom nobody is stronger or swifter, the eight hands of the wielder of Sarnga bow (*i.e.* Visnu) are the eight quarters (four major and four minor) the four faces of the god are to be known (to typify) bala, Jnana, aisvarya and sakti (four of the six ideal gunas

associated with Vasudeva, Samkarsana Pradyumna and Aniruddha respectively), each two of the eight hands are to be associated with each of the four faces; in Vasudeva's hands are to be known (placed) the sun and the moon in Samkarsana's hands are a pestle and a ploughshare; in those of Pradyumna are known a bow and an arrow, while in Aniruddha's hands a sword and a shield. The sun and the moon typifying Purusa and Prakrti (appear as) a cakra and a gada in the hands of Vasudeva; the ploughshare should be known as time and the pestle as death, with which Samkarsana as Rudra ploughs this movable and immovable world. The bow and arrow in the hands of Pradyumna, the fire are instrumental in piercing the highest target (reaching the highest goal) which is meditated on by the Yogins. The shield, in the hand of Aniruddha who is Brahma, stands for the cloak of ignorance necessary for the creation of the world. The sword (in the other hand of Aniruddha) known as Nandaka, really passionlessness or indifference to the world causes joy to the Yogins because it severs all their ties with the world.

It will be quite apposite here to take note of an essential doctrinal tenet of the Pancaratra system in order to understand the true significance of the images of the great god Vasudeva Visnu conceived in his four primary aspects, viz, Vasudeva, Samkarsana Pradyumna and Aniruddha and his twenty other secondary ones totalling twenty-four forms in all (Caturvimsatimurtayah). The philosophy of the Pancaratrins, like the same of the various other religious systems, is inseparably bound up with the story of creation. The creation according to them takes place in gradual stages; in the beginning Sri, the great sakti of Visnu opens her eyes by his command (unmesa) and flashes up in her dual aspect of kriya (acting) and bhuti (becoming) i.e., Force and Matter. Visnu, the transcendent lord, himself inactive, indirectly acts through his consort in her two aspects and thus Visnu Kriya Sakti (really the Sudarsana portion of Laksmi) and Bhuti Sakti are respectively the causa efficiens (efficient cause), causa

instrumentalis (instrumental cause) and *causa materialis* (material cause) of the world. Thus in the Pancaratra system the transcendent aspect of Visnu remains completely in the background, but still the motive force, while the one force (Laksmi) which as Bhuti appears as the universe and as Kriya vitalises and governs it. The first phase of the manifestation of Laksmi is called *suddhasrsti* (pure creation) which consists of the creation of the six ideal gunas (*gunonmesadasa*). These gunas, the attributes of the highest god, are *jnana* (knowledge), *aisvarya* (lordship), *sakti* (potency), *bala* (strength), *virya* (virility), and *tejas* (splendour) and are themselves *aprakrti* (not belonging to *Prakrti* like the three gunas—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) they in their totality and by pairs are the material of instruments of pure creation. The first three of them connected with the Bhuti fall under one group called *visramabhumayah* (stages of rest) while the last three under the other, viz., *sramabhumayah* (stages of effort) and the corresponding gunas of each group join to form a pair connected with one to other of some special divine manifestation. In their totality the gunas make up the body of Vasudeva, the highest personal god (*Sadgunyavigraham devam*), as well as that of his consort Laksmi when, however they begin to pair—one of the first group pairing with another of the chain, as it were consisting of several emanations—each one excepting the first originating from an anterior one; thus, the favourite image of the process has, with the Pancaratrins, become that of one flame proceeding from another flame (any creation up to the formation of the Brahmanda is imagined as taking place in this way). The first three—or including Vasudeva, four—beings thus coming into existence are called the *Vyuhas* which really denotes that six gunas are shoved asunder into three pairs, and the *Caturvyuhas* (cf. the *Caturmurti* of the *Visnudharmottara* passage) are Vasudeva (in whom all the six gunas are equally manifest), Samkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the last three being the elder brother, the son and grandson respectively of Vasudeva Krsna according to the epic and puranic tradition.

The above account of the Vyuha doctrine, one of the essential tenets of the pancaratra system read in connection with the Visnudharmottara passages, helps to explain the character of the mediaeval Visnu images of Kashmir. It is not at all surprising that Kashmir, of all places in India, should particularise in these types of icons essentially associated with the Pancaratra doctrine. Scharader remarks that this system "must have originated in the north of India and subsequently spread to the south". He further observes, "the story of Svetadvipa seems even to point to the extreme north and so do some Samhitas, among them Ahirbudhnya." This extreme north was most probably Kashmir, as the frequency of the above types of images there fully show.

(*Indian History Congress Proceedings, 1940*)

20

Secular Concept in Kashmir Traditions

*By
Prem Nath Bazaz*

Dismayed by the never ending bickerings between India and Pakistan a sizable section of the Kashmir Muslims, hold that Sheikh Abdullah committed a blunder when he agreed to lend his powerful support to secularisation of State politics in the thirties. As his intimate and trusted associate during those days I am, at times, roundly blamed for having successfully persuaded him to become a nationalist; the day is cursed when in 1939 Muslim Conference was converted into National Conference and the doors of the premier political organisation of Jammu and Kashmir were thrown open to the non-Muslims who were prepared to fight for the achievement of responsible government in the State. It is contended that but for this change the contemporary history of the valley would have been differently written and the Muslims would not have to face the difficulties and hardships which they are experiencing today.

It would be fruitful to discuss what, if any, element of truth is contained in these mournful statements. Was the attempt of secularise Kashmir politics in 1939 a brainwave of any person or a group of individuals motivated by political aims or was it the natural outcome of the cultural traditions inherited by the people from their ancestors? Was Sheikh Abdullah prompted to take this step by his personal ambitions

or was he acting under pressure of historic forces over which he had little control? Was the change effected as a result of collective thinking of the accredited Muslim leaders or was it foisted upon the community by a dominant personality? These are the questions that have to be fully answered to arrive at a balanced opinion about this important episode in the recent past of Kashmir.

In history no event of any significance suddenly without some previous developments having taken place leading to it; Kashmir history is no exception to this general rule. For instance, the upheaval of July 1931 was neither the handiwork of arch conspirators as reactionary Hindus believe nor the outcome of religious zeal as a common Muslim is led to think. As a matter of fact, two or three generations of patriots, both Muslim and Hindu, had patiently worked and valiantly suffered to make the downtrodden masses rise in revolt. Apart from what had been done in the second half of the last century, the patriots had vigorously worked against the despotic rule of the Dogras in 1905, (petition for more education etc.) 1912, (demand for safeguarding right of *mulkis*), 1922 (submission of memorandum to Viceroy) and 1926 (Kashmir for Kashmiris movement). The Maharaja had harshly dealt with the agitators, punished them and frustrated their aims of arousing the people. But the efforts had not entirely gone in vain; some educational and political reforms were half-heartedly granted. Nevertheless as a result of the sufferings of the patriots public resentment accumulated through the decades which gave the real strength to the elemental upsurge of 1931. Therefore it would be incorrect to assert that the mass upheaval was an isolated phenomenon or the beginning of the freedom struggle in the valley.

In a similar way the idea that mundane interests of the Muslims and non-Muslims are inseparable and that two communities should share joys and sorrows was not conceived all of a sudden for the first time in 1939 but had deep rooted traditions in the past. Through centuries the idea of unity in diversity formed the fundamental principle on which the

culture of the Kashmir people was built. Buddhism and Brahmanism existed side by side for many centuries in the beginning of Christian era. The fertile mind of the Kashmiris absorbed the positive contributions to human culture of both the religions. The fusion of the two gave birth to the philosophy of the Trika commonly known as Shaivism. Under its influence Kashmir monarchs equally patronised both the faiths guiding people to live in friendliness with each other. The seeds of the communal concord and religious tolerance were thus sown more than fifteen centuries ago.

When Islam came to the Valley in the fourteenth century and people embraced it in large numbers the toleration for beliefs other than one's own had already become the cornerstone of Kashmir culture. Lal Ded, the hermitess, who conceived the philosophy of religious humanism was born in the rule of Udyan- Deva the last Hindu King of Kashmir. She harmonised Shaivism with the basic tenets of Islam and reasserted the cardinal principles of Kashmir culture. She became the harbinger of the new age and the beloved idol of all classes. Her disciple Sheikh-Noor Uddin flourished under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin Bad Shah. He founded the order of the "Rishis" or "Babas" who carried the torch of Humanism, religious tolerance and Hindu Muslim unity from generation to generation for over four centuries. Living humble lives of poverty, selflessness, service and simplicity and remaining aloof from political controversies or governmental power the "Rishis" wielded tremendous influence over the educated and the illiterate. Many of them had both Hindu and Muslim names; in fact it was difficult to call them either Hindu or Muslim. Those who think that the secularisation of Kashmir politics is the brain wave of a few misguided or idealist politicals should do well to study the history of the Baba movement in the valley and its influence on the character of the Kashmiris.

After Bad Shah Kashmir was unfortunately ruled by many bad kings; life became insecure, poverty increased and the officials tyrannised over the peace loving people by torture,

plunder and despoil. It is, however, remarkable that in this long period of oppression the Kashmiris refused to be divided on the basis of religion when the rulers tried to sow the seeds of Hindu Muslim or Sunni-Shia feuds. In Sultan Sikander's time, at the risk of incurring the King's displeasure, the Muslims gave refuge to innumerable Hindus who had come under suspicion; Ghazi Shah Chak persecuted Khwaja Tahir Rafiq, disciple of Saint Hamza Makhdum, and a religious leader of the Sunnis. He had to go into hiding and was given shelter by a Brahmin of Verinag, Aider Suh. When Birbal Dhar, a Pandit Jagirdar, stealthily left the valley to invite Ranjit Singh for overthrowing the accursed Pathan rule his flight in mid-winter across the snow-covered mountains was made possible through the support willingly offered by Malik Kamdar and Malik Namdar, two Muslim landlords, as well as by large number of Muslim peasants in Kulgam Tehsil. In Srinagar Azim Khan, Pathan Governor, issued orders that Kudmal, wife of Birbal, together with her daughter in-law be produced before him in the court. Even before the Pathan sepoys appeared at Birbal's house, Muslim patriots had planned to thwart the evil designs of tyrant. Qudus Gojwari, a Muslim grandee, had given the two ladies protection under his roof with obvious risk to his own life. Furious Azim ordered search of all possible hiding places but the Muslims refused to divulge the secret; it was a unique act of chivalry in that dismal period but nevertheless a feature of Kashmiri character the importance of which cannot be minimised or overlooked. Again, enraged by the activities of the Muslim rebels who made Khanqah-i-Moulla as their rendezvous, in 1830 the Sikhs decided to demolish the sacred shrine but the Pandit nobles opposed the move and the Sikh Governor desisted. Examples can be multiplied but these few are sufficient to underline the religious tolerance and communal concord as factors of Kashmir culture.

During the days of the boy king Mohammad Shah, (1484-89), a Sayyid family from outside dominated the Kashmir administration. In the works of historian Srivara the rulers

treated the people as chattels and humiliated them. There was a rebellion and grim struggle to exterminate the cruel despots. The description of the war as preserved in the annals sufficiently explains that the concept of nationalism is nearly five centuries old in the valley. For in this 1485 war of liberation Kashmir armies were composed of Hindu and Muslim recruits who held aloft a secular flag and raised non-religious slogans while attacking the royal armies. The long drawn-out war was ultimately won by the patriots and Sayyids were either killed or driven out. The episode reinforced the nationtrait of the Kashmir character. Again when a few years later Babur, having learnt of civil war in the valley, thought of easily capturing it, the Kashmiris temporarily forgot their domestic differences and rallied round a patriotic noble Kaze Chak to defend the homeland and forced the Mughal armies to retire.

Whatever the reasons for its adoption and I hold that some of these were justifiable the communal approach of the essentially political struggle for freedom waged in 1931 was inconsistent with the cultural traditions of the valley. Unsurprisingly, this was being realized by the sponsors of the movement even as early as February March 1931 when the mass uprising was yet to take place and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had not achieved the pre-eminent position of the top leader which he did in months to follow. An impartial study of the speeches delivered by the then luminaries of Kashmir Muslim politics such as Maulvi Abdullah, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Saaduddin Shawl will amply prove that they were not happy over the happenings misdirecting State politics into communal channels. Circumstances were impelling the leaders to adopt this stance; nevertheless they felt uncomfortable.

The Muslim Conference was founded in October 1932. One need only patiently go through the records of this organisation to conclude that most of the leaders and workers of the party disliked communalism and religious basis of politics. Repeatedly were the non-Muslims invited to participate in the struggle for freedom and assured of

honourable place in the Social and political life. In the Presidential address of the first session of the Muslim Conference we find this unequivocal declaration: "The Kashmir movement is not communal but has come into existence to get the grievances of all classes of people redressed. We assure our Hindu and Sikh brothers that we are prepared to help them in the same manner as we do the Mussalmans. *Our country cannot progress until we learn to live amicably with one another (emphasis mine).*" In March 1933, the working committee of the Muslim Conference constituted a Subcommittee to "find out ways and means of bridging the gulf between the committees and uniting Hindus and Muslims."

What made the Muslim politicians uneasy and eager to have non-Muslims among them? Obviously, the communal politics was coming into conflict with the traditional humanist temperament of the people. Sheikh Abdullah and some of his farsighted close associates in the Muslim Conference had the intelligence to realize this in time and lend massive support to secularisation of politics. Happily, the appeals of the Muslim patriots did not fall on deaf ear. Significantly, progressive Pandits of the valley if not non-Muslims living across Banihal, eagerly responded to the call and joined the struggle by courting imprisonment in August-September 1938. Thus the co-operation of enlightened Hindus and Muslims brought the Kashmir politics on the straight path indicated by the cultural traditions of the people. Secularisation became inevitable and the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference easily followed.

In the special session of the Muslim Conference in June, 1989 where the historic change was registered the cream of the Muslim intelligentsia was present. It was attended by such well known figures as Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg, Maulvi Mohd. Syed, Bakshi Ghulam Mohmd. Ch. Ghulam Abbas, Allah Rakha Sagar, Hamid Ullah Khan, Maulvi Mohmd. Hussain and others. G.M. Sadiq presided. Out of 176 delegates present at the session all but three

supported the move. It is notable that the dissidents belonged to Jammu. It would be no exaggeration to say that every Kashmiri Muslim leader of any importance with the exception of Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah (who was not a member of the Muslim Conference) accorded his willing consent to the healthy change. Indeed it was hailed in the valley with hilarity. Even Chaudhuri Abbas of Jammu, the unrepentant devotee at the shrine of religious politics sensing the intensity of the feelings of the Kashmiris blessed secularisation declaring communalism as a worn-out attire. "It suits us not more. We should discard it and have the new garb of nationalism which will lead us to our goal of freedom". Today those who claim to be wiser after the passage of over a quarter century of the event would do well to read how sincerely and vigorously speeches stressing the importance of secular concept were made in the special session.

In view of these historical facts it is unfair to accuse Sheikh Abdullah of being self-willed and having brought about the change peremptorily. The fact is that he had his colleagues would have immensely harmed the freedom struggle by opposing the irresistible cultural forces functioning in the valley. It betrays superficiality in thinking to say that a great event in history occurred solely because a leader willed it; that will not be a scientific reading of our past annals. An unbiased student of Kashmir history cannot help concluding that the secular concept was inherent in the cultural traditions of our country.

The mistake of Sheikh Abdullah and his followers consists in believing that Gandhian ideology was the last word on secular philosophy. But secularism cannot be limited to religious tolerance and communal harmony. In the medieval ages when divine right of the monarchs to rule and religious zeal were accepted principles governing politics to be tolerant and just was to be secular. The all round scientific advance and vast extension in the confines of knowledge have made old definitions inadequate. Secularism now stands for separation of State from religion to which Gandhian politicians

are opposed, at any rate in practice. A secularist today means a person who unreservedly accepts the supremacy of reason and aims at establishing a system of philosophy independent of all arbitrary assumptions or authority. A secularist rejects supernaturalism, irrational beliefs and superstitions. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues failed to develop Kashmir cultural traditions in accordance with the modern scientific achievements, they clung to the medieval notions and suffered discomfiture.

One point remains to be answered. Had the change not taken place in 1939 and the religious politics permitted to continue its course, what would have been the consequences? It is rather difficult to adequately meet this hypothetical enquiry. The Muslim Conference had already shown signs of decay in 1934-38; communal clashes and sectional bickerings had become the order of the day; petty demands such as increase in the communal proportion of officials or appointments and transfers of government employees had gained importance out of proportion of their value in social life. This sorry state of affairs would have continued. It is possible the Muslim Conference would have dragged on its existence for a few years. State politics would have wended the torturous course and ultimately stagnated until the rise of a more gifted and daring leadership to put it on the secular lines. Sheikh Abdullah would have gradually faded in public life. It is not generally known, and I am not revealing a secret, that in 1935 he was thinking of abandoning politics for good and proceeding to England for qualifying at the bar to practise law.

In August 1935 the first serious attempt at secularisation was made when Sheik Abdullah and myself jointly launched upon a journalistic adventure by starting the nationalist weekly "Hamdard". It was welcomed in all classes and soon became popular, the first journal to be read equally eagerly by Hindus as well as Muslims; yet another proof that notions of religious tolerance and communal concord appealed to the innermost and natural inclinations of the Kashmiris.

It was the fresh fillip that the freedom struggle got such efforts to secularise State politics which kindled new hopes in Sheikh Abdullah. He felt encouraged, suppressed his desire to become a barrister and with renewed vigour pursued his political ideals. Without taking into consideration the developments during the past three decades unthinking people assume that Sheikh Abdullah would have in any case commanded the outstanding position he does today. Maybe he too thinks now that secularisation was of doubtful value to the freedom struggle. This judgment however would be hasty and born of uncritical thinking.

Like Sheikh Abdullah several Muslim young men appeared on the political firmament in different native States, in the last thirties. Most of them however sank back into oblivion because they would not grasp the spirit of the times and harped on the religious tune. I vividly recollect one Ghulam Bhaik Nairang of Rampur who was for a while more in news than Sheikh Abdullah. Nobody today remembers even the name of Nairang while Sheikh Abdullah has attained international reputation and is counted among the few leaders of the Indian sub-continent who have achieved undying fame. This may be attributed to the revolutionary spirit which he displayed in the thirties though in subsequent years he may have proved a disappointment to many of his admirers and followers in Kashmir and outside.



21

Desecration of Temples in Kashmir

*By
Dwarkanath Munshi*

Over a hundred temples and other open places of worship and obeisance have been desecrated, damaged and vandalised even before the 1990 holocaust. These hundred and more do not include numberless other places of Hindu worship in Kashmir valley which have been either seized by force or obliterated without leaving a trace. Some of this latter category include open sacred places of worship and sanctity including cremation grounds.

The illegal forcible occupation commenced from the day of Independence in 1947. The Administration not only looked the other way, but, indeed, promoted the seizure of government land, common pastures, in city and villages alike. All this came in the possession of the Muslim Auqaf of which Sheikh Abdullah himself was the all-powerful President.

This has been an unbroken process. To understand that, we need to take a quick look at our pantheon. As is well known, Hindus in Kashmir and everywhere revere and worship all known sources of energy in the universe and all manifestations of nature on the land and water of the earth, for example, a mountain, a tree, rock, river, spring, animal, bird, fish, reptile, *et al.* They all have a purpose to serve and

sustain this globe and make it lively and beautiful. Without these, life would be extinct.

To these, Hindus not only raised temples, big and small, but have borne in their faith and emotions these nature's manifestations, and often marked them with vermillion and flags and buntions to set them apart as objects and idols of worship and prayer.

This was very pronounced in the valley of Kashmir, over and around its hills and mountains, on the river banks and streams and springs, in the caves difficult to access and so forth. The intensity of faith in these places of worship, and sanctity, is not affected by whether they are covered and enclosed or open and exposed.

Now, in early 1986, the Muslim fundamentalists made the first major and fairly widespread onslaught on the minority, that is Kashmiri Pandits. The attack was concentrated in the prosperous town of Anantnag and several small towns and villages of the district. A few of these are Luk Bhawan, Fatephora, Wanpuh, Dhanav, Bijbehara, Akura among many others. These were ravaged and ransacked for a number of days. On the other extreme of the valley, Baramulla and Sopore, well-known and prosperous towns in the north, too, came under attack but escaped rather lightly in comparison to the pillaging in the south.

Altogether, 32 places were affected. In these, 24 temples were burnt, 22 were desecrated and looted and 22 idols were broken. Since our reference here is only to temples and other places of Hindu worship, we shall refrain from mentioning destruction and damage of houses, shops, factories, etc.

Such was the virulence of the riots that a Study Team, set up by the BJP, comprising Shri L.K. Advani, Shri Kidar Nath Sahani, other top leaders and M.Ps, visited all the affected places. They gave their findings to Shri Arun Nehru, the then Minister of Internal Security and placed before him full,

authentic facts on the prevailing situation and the risk to the life, property and honour of the Pandits in the valley.

The Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi, had also sent a Study Team which visited several affected places and published a detailed report, similar in sweep and character.

The findings, summarized to the barest minimum above, were found so full of peril for the State and the country's integrity that the Government had no choice but to dismiss the notorious G.M. Shah Ministry of the State and put it under Governor's rule. We will not go into the political chess games and the sordid mess that followed. But meanwhile, the Muslim fundamentalists, with the Jamat-i-Islami in the forefront, made the most of it. The rival political factions of Farooq Abdullah and his brother-in-law Shah fed their respective factions with arms and money, which is too well known to be repeated. Our inveterate enemy Pakistan strengthened it immensely with a roaring stream of armaments, petrodollars, trainings and mercenaries which easily crossed the almost open and slovenly-held borders.

All this resulted in the holocaust of January 1990, which continues. The fundamentalist secessionist concentrated and trained guns and their fury first on the Kashmiri Pandits, their lives and property. The defenseless, powerless and friendless community had no option but to flee at least to save their skin.

What the fundamentalist secessionists had experimented in 1986, was now blown into full potential. There was nobody to stop them. The State Government had collapsed and deserted. The Central Government had no idea nor the will to deal with this insurrection. They would not antagonise the Muslims and risk the fall-out in India when the elections were looming large on the Indian horizon.

There are reports and accounts of the barbarity of the secessionists, when they raped and then sliced women by saws, killed many by inserting burning cigarettes into the

body or left half-dead persons with broken legs and arms to be finished by vultures, by burning men and cows alive; if those inhumans could do this to the living, what would they have done to the inanimate objects of worship? The carnage was directed at that time almost exclusively at the Kashmiri Pandits to shatter them completely and drive them out of Kashmir as pre-requisite to secession. It would thus be only the naive or incorrigibly biased or those who may be benefited somehow who would think or believe or say that the places of worship were left unharmed.

In such dark and dangerous times who could have reported and got registered such crimes? And the barbarians went with fiendish fury at the built-up, and more at the open places of worship, uprooted them and left no trace of them.

Yet, it is not as simple a matter of what was done in 1990. Now, when the valley is inaccessible to civilised people, it is impossible to pinpoint the damages wrought in 1990. The basic question is what has happened over time, say a couple of decades. I will give three sharp illustrations which can be verified any time even now.

One is of the 'Bhairav' at Chattabal in Srinagar. It was a place of prayers and offerings to the local patron-spirit symbolised by a majestic tree standing in attractive surroundings on the banks of the once splendid Jhelum river. Muslims then suddenly claimed it for a graveyard. The Government promptly denied Hindus access to the place of worship.

The second is the foothills of Hari Parbat. All along it were many small temples and open spaces bearing idols, rocks, trees, etc., especially in what was called the Devi Aangan, a vast area at the foot of Mata Sharika's shrine atop the hill. Each of these was the object of the Pandits' reverence and worship and stood recognised as such from ancient times. These have been obliterated and many now lie beneath residential houses and commercial centres.

The third is the very recent and the most serious desecration of Khir Bhawani. If a rocket was flung in the direction of the shrine, is it not a desecration unless it would have blown the whole thing up? If there was no damage or desecration, than, what did the local Muslims protest about when certain groups, who visited the valley and claim to have met some Pujaris there, say, that these Pujaris never mentioned any desecration. It is unfortunate that they believed them—What did they beleaguered miserable ones to say, risking as they are their lives but there expect the religious duty when death surrounds them from all sides? They or any other Kashmiri Pandit their will not dare to breathe a word which can even remotely displease the extremists, even when none may be around. For, every breath of every person reaches them and sets them up instantly for action—simply blowing out the life and this goes on day after day.

An area of 30 Kanals, which has now shrunk to 12 Kanals, 7 Marlas under Khasra Nos. (518), 2 marlas (514), 15 Marlas (520), 10 Kanals, 10 Marlas (557), 1 Kanal in village Lukban Larikipora, is in recorded possession of this shrine. There are temples and dharam-shalas in this area. The big spring in the middle of this shrine has a "Shiv Ling" in its heart. This historical shrine is a place of pilgrimage for all the Hindus in general and Kashmiri Pandits in particular on *Harabah* each year. The Government had undertaken to substitute barbed wire fencing with chain link fencing. When almost entire area was fenced a portion of it was kept open by the local contractor who, under the instructions of *Jamat-i-Islami*, instigated the Muslims of the area to insist for a separate gate for the Muslims.

The *Jamat-i-Islami* workers roped in the services of National Conference and Congress workers as well. It was after the interview with Chief Minister that the local administration, perhaps at the behest of higher authorities, picked up two persons from the village and coerced them into signing a compromise where an old temple which has

stone engraved statues of Hindu Gods standing nearby the shrine was stated to be a place of prayers for local muslims. This ancient monument is an old temple of Hindus which the Department of Archaeology intended to take into possession. The said compromise allegedly says that the sacred shrine can be used as a *Picnic spot*. During this period the local Pandits have been attacked, abused and their crops have also been destroyed. These matters have been reported to the police, of which a picket had been stationed in the shrine compound. The water channels of their fields were cut and standing maize and other crops destroyed. These matters have appeared in the press as well. The idea behind all this is to harass the minority community so that they are forced to leave the land of their birth.

22

Places of Pilgrimage

Amarnathiji Cave : Situated at an altitude of 13,900 ft. in a long glacial gorge high among the eastern mountains it contains a self-formed lingam of ice which increases and decreases with the waxing and waning of the moon. It is visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims every year from various parts of India on the full moon day of Sawan (July-August).

Hazrat Bal : Situated at a distance of four miles from the city of Srinagar, this great Muslim shrine commands an excellent view of the Dal Lake. This shrine attracts large numbers of Muslims on every Friday, and a common prayer is held in the mosque in which thousands of votaries participate. The shrine contains a hair of Prophet Mohammad.

Shah Hamdan Mosque : This is a famous shrine situated on the bank of the River Jhelum in Srinagar. It draws thousands of votaries of various castes and creeds. A big fair is held here in which Hindus and Muslims participate and pay homage to the patron saint popularly known as Shah Hamdan.

Chrar-i-Sharief : This shrine is situated in the village of Chrar, about 18 miles from Srinagar. It is dedicated to a great patron saint, named Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, popularly known as Nund Reshi who preached communal amity and brotherhood through the vehicle of verse. He was the contemporary of the famous poet-saint Lal Ded who hailed from Pampore.

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Chrar-i-Sharief : This shrine is situated in the village of Chrar, about 18 miles from Srinagar. It is dedicated to a great patron saint, named Sheikh Noor-ud-Din, popularly known as Nund Reshi who preached communal amity and brotherhood through the vehicle of verse. He was the contemporary of the famous poet-saint Lal Ded who hailed from Pampore.

The Shrine of Khirbhawani : The shrine of Tulamula, sacred to the Khirbhawani or Ragini Devi, is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage among the Hindus in Kashmir. The shrine is situated in the vicinity of a spring, 14 miles to the north of Srinagar. The water of the spring changes colour frequently, sometimes becoming purple, sometimes green and so on. It is a very ancient shrine and even Rajtarangini contains its mention. There is a legend that his goddess was originally in Ceylon in the house of Demon King Ravana and after his death Hanumanji brought it here. Every year in the month of June a fair is held here when thousands of Kashmiri Hindus assemble to offer prayers at the shrine.

Vaishno Devi Cave : This cave is situated in a mountain, 6,000 ft. high in Reasi Tehsil, about thirty-nine miles to the north of Jammu city. During the months of September and October, people from all parts of India visit this cave to have darshan of the goddess who is enshrined at the extreme end of the long cave. There are also many self-formed images of gods. The nine-mile ascent to the cave begins from Katra, the main starting point. There are two routes leading to the cave; one of these is pony road and the other a foot-path, which is more commonly used. This place is snow-bound during winter months.

(*Kashmir Today*)

23

Call for Impartial Inquiry [Pre- and Post-Hazratabal Incident]

*By
Mridula Sarabhai*

I

Pre-1952

The birth of Azad Hindustan took place in the atmosphere of fanatic communal cult of retaliation. This led to Bapu taking to a new mission. Explaining it he said:

"My present mission is the most complicated and difficult one of my life. I can sing with cent per cent truth: 'The night is dark and I am far from home, lead Thou me on!'

"I never experienced such darkness in my life before. The night seems to be pretty long. The only consolation is that I feel neither baffled, nor disappointed. I am prepared for any eventuality. 'Do or Die' has to put to test. 'Do' here means Hindus and Muslims should learn to live together in peace and amity. Else, I should die in the attempt. It is really a difficult task. God's will be done."

The frenzy continued and was spreading like wild fire. In its intoxication the nation and the workers lost sight of the hidden hand behind it. Appealing to Biharis in 1946 Bapu warned the whole nation when he said:

"Bihar has forged a link in the chain of our slavery. If the Bihar performance is repeated, or if the Bihar mentality does not mend, you may note down my words in your diary: Before long, India will pass under the yoke of the Big Three, with one of them probably as the mandatory power."

Yet the workers appear to be deaf to Bapu and Nehru's warnings, resulting in creation of such a poisonous atmosphere that made Bapu to say:

"He was not so effective today as he used to be before the advent of independence. In the past he was the leader of India's non-violent rebels. Although everyone did not follow his advice, large numbers did so. Today his was a voice in the wilderness. The great teachers have said that one should go on proclaiming the truth as one saw it, even though no one listened to it."

"Today, he was a back number. He was told he had no place in the new order."

Later on He Added

"He had worked hard for the independence of India and had prayed to God to let him live up to 125 years so that he could see the establishment of Ramarajya—the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, in India. But today there was no such prospect before them. The people had taken the law into their own hands. Was he to be a helpless witness of the tragedy? He prayed to God to give him the strength to make them see their error and mend it, or else remove him. Time was when their love for him made them follow him implicitly. Their affection had not perhaps died down, but his appeal to their reason and hearts seemed to have lost its force. Was it that they had use for him only while they were slaves and had none in an independent India? Did independence mean good-bye to civilization and humanity?"

It was only after his last fast in January, 1948 that Gandhiji was able to declare that:

"The transfer of power on the 15th of August as a result of their passive resistance struggle was a unique event in the history of the world. But then fell from grace and the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs behaved towards one another like barbarians. It was however, he hoped, only a temporary distemper. Their hearts were sound. The fast seemed to have served to throw out the distemper. He hoped that the cure would be permanent, without the possibility of a relapse."

Then again on July 2nd, 1947, Gandhiji said:

"He was being rebuked for championing the forlorn causes and thus wasting his life. He should, especially in the winter of his life, retire or use his popularity for handling the popular causes The popular causes needed no further weight and often popular causes, like popular superstitions, had to be resisted with all one's might however feeble that might was. He, therefore, invited his audience to resist the mad wave, that was sweeping across the land. No cause, that was intrinsically just, could ever be described as forlorn"

While such were the experience of nation-builders in rest of India, J and K State was fighting a life and death struggle against the two-nation, theorists. In Gandhiji's own words:

"On November 1, he invited the prayer audience to cast their mental eyes on Kashmir and picture to themselves the condition of the people there. When he listened to the sound which the aeroplanes above made in their journey to Kashmir, his heart went out to the Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, and his people. He was a friend of all and made no distinctions between man and man. He represented the non-Muslims, as well as the Muslims. He remarked that those who were fleeing from Kashmir out of fear should not do so. They all should learn to be brave and fearless, and they should be prepared to lay down their lives in defence of their homes. And this applied equally to all, whether old or young, or women or children. He would not mind, if the whole of the military and the people of Kashmir died at their post, in defence of fair

Kashmir. How he wished that the Afridis and other freebooters were sensible enough to leave Kashmir alone."

Dawn of Independence brought upon the Kashmiris innumerable complicated problems. In words of Sher-i-Kashmir.

"After the tragic partition of the country, if I advised my people to look towards India, it was not for her wealth or power but for the community of ideals. I sincerely felt that India was forging ahead as a real progressive democratic state with secularism as its goal. Though a veritable hell of communal massacre stood between Kashmir and India then, the people of Kashmir joined hands with India so as to be of some assistance to Gandhiji in his noble mission. The Musalmans of Kashmir bore with fortitude the mass killings of their co-religionists in the Jammu Province, the provocative and murderous behaviour of certain Indian Army Units stationed in Srinagar, in the early days of the raid and the hostile attitude of the local non-Muslim population, but did not falter to up-hold the cause of secularism and human brotherhood."

In 1947 Gandhiji paying tribute to the Kashmiris, said:

"It is on the Kashmir soil that Islam and Hinduism are being weighted. If both pull their weight correctly and in the same direction, the chief actors, will cover themselves with glory and nothing can move them from their joint credit. My sole hope and prayer is that Kashmir should become a beacon light to this benighted sub-continent."

It was nation's good fortune that the struggle for independence had brought together Nehru and Sheikh and built up a unique comradeship. They jointly faced the problems of the J and K State and succeeded in keeping up high morale of the people. In an atmosphere of emergency gave them that sense of security that a baby gets in the arms of a mother—braving storms and strife.

The hidden hand behind the killer only succeeded in physically removing Bapu from amongst us but it has immortalised his teachings and following. Shockingly they found the nation as a whole, backing Nehru-Sheikh's effort to fulfil Bapu's last mission.

Thus leadership of Nehru and Sheikh not only laid the foundations of glorious future for the people of the State and the Indian Union but this had magnetic effect on Asiatic politics.

In India and Kashmir it is hardly realised what this has meant to freedom movements in Asia. How Kashmiris throwing their lot with India have checked the spread of disastrous strategy of divide and rule in their own countries and have saved their country from being partitioned by the power blocs on the same principle of religious intolerance. It would have put back the clock of progress for many a generation and Asia's urge to regain her legitimate status with other continents of the world would be delayed.

It is for this reason that developments in Kashmir and attitude of India on this problem are specially focussing the eyes of these countries and of the people of the world in general. They eagerly await for the result of our struggle against the theory of divide and rule. If we collapse—it means dooms-day to them. If we succeed it means liberation for them also.

The communalists fought the general elections on communal slogans and with a possessive approach to Kashmir. The way the Indian voter summarily brushed them aside was one more proof of the people of India's soundness to assess between what is good and bad.

Presumably these two experiences led to complete change over in the methods adopted by the cold-war technicians.

They now came forward as fanatic nationalists and the most "progressive" than any one else. They misused the

technique of Satyagraha and its popular vocabulary and slogan and made Kashmir the next target of their attack.

Yet the masses would not respond to them. So they adopted coercive tactics, manipulation of events and artificial "anti-demonstrations" by hirelings, opportunists, and dependents, to create a make-belief atmosphere of "popular support to them."

Why did Gandhiji emphasise on the need for Hindu-Muslim unity? Besides national solidarity that this programme would bring in, it is the only thing that can maintain the solidarity of Asiatic countries and hope for colonised countries against the possibility of being deviated by imperialist forces as India was fated to be.

So the pioneers who work in this field are, not only working to keep India united but on their success or defeat depends, or say hangs the future of many a country in Asia. In fact Asia's own status is at stake on how India solves this problem of hers.

In J and K State the implementation of Gandhiji's lead, to the nation was undertaken by Sher-i-Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. The Kashmiri arose from his "slumber of ignorance" and the age-long habit of depending on others to get him justice. For the first time in 1930 one sees the Kashmiri, taking a "Karwat" and through self-reliance and non-violent non-co-operation, one finds him resisting the autocratic hereditary regime of the Maharaja and the foreign rulers. The credit of bringing about this awakening and change of character goes to Sher-i-Kashmir. It was he who made the internal movement, a part and parcel of the Indian national movement. Often when the Congress was in wilderness and the people of other States were victims of severe repression, one found the Kashmiri keeping up the honour of the national flag and resistance.

The above-mentioned lead of Bapu was given a practical form in the State when under Sheikh Saheb's leadership, the

National Conference adopted the cult of unity, brotherhood, non-violence and non-co-operation on one side and the 'new Kashmir' programme on the other.

The two-nation theorists wanted to undo Kashmir's decision. They wanted it to throw its lot with Pak or as an "independent country" that would enable them to make it a Headquarters of international diplomatic pulls as some unfortunate countries find themselves to be. In short they wanted Kashmir to play to their tune and be a camp follower of any Inter national power bloc. They found an ally in the communal and uprooted vested interests in the country including the J and K State. Together they set about to achieve any of the following results:

1. To launch such a movement in India and Kashmir that would emotionally uproot the people and estrange them against popular leaders.
2. To rout out Congress and National Conference out of power. In turn the Hindu communalists would be able to make India a Hindu Rashtra and the communalist Muslims take Kashmir to Pakistan.
3. This will for ever put an end to renaissance of Asia with a secular and strong India in it. It would weaken Asia's march against colonialism and imperialism.

Their Strategy has been

1. Through corruption and bribery infiltrate into progressive political parties. Bringing about atmosphere of disruption amongst tried comrades and to take their place. Encourage human weakness, jealousies, dissatisfaction and power lust within the party men and get their own stooges into power, who will sabotage implementation of politics from within and create dissatisfaction amongst the people against the administration and party in power.

2. Through hirelings and disgruntled elements in the society, fan the "mass agitation" of any type. This would force the popular leaders, heading the Government, to take to violent methods for maintaining law and order, and bring them in conflict with people in general. It would also convince the population that the leaders they loved have become "power-intoxicated" and "arrogant" and what not. This in turn would create an urge for change of leadership.
3. To create misunderstandings that would result in shaking the popularity of the leaders from a broad based sphere of influence to a narrow one for example in 1947 Nehru had been a national leader but since then innumerable efforts have been made to create such situations that would make Nehru only a "party leader". For failure in this the credit goes to the mutual love and confidence that people of India and Nehru have for each other. Similarly efforts have been made to narrow down Sheikh Saheb's sphere of influence. Until the merger of State People's Conference, Sheikh Saheb equally shared the responsibility of work in all India field.

Arzi Hukumat

Post-independence period was a period of turmoil and efforts for stabilization. While Nehru and others were attending to all India problems, in the frontier State Sheikh Saheb was leading the resistance movement against communal forces and then the new responsibilities as the head of the Arzi Hukumat tied him down to tackling the State problems.

Land reforms and revolutionary debt-relief measures were introduced by the Arzi Hukumat under Sheikh Abdullah's leadership and guidance. Land was given to the tiller and the peasant without compensation. People were relieved of the age-old burden of debt to such an extent that

the "Statesman" in its issue dated 21-5-53 paid a glowing tribute to the author of that revolutionary change. According to the paper that measure alone gave more than 80 per cent debt-relief to the toiling masses of the State. The debts amounting to Rs. 1,11,22054/- were determined and cleared off against payment of Rs. 3,39,950/- only and even this payment was further eased by getting it divided into easy instalments at an average rate of Rs. 10/- per crop and the period of payment extended to 12 years. Probably that step proved to be the best 'fertilizer' for giving an impetus to the produce more campaign.

These revolutionary reforms while giving substantial relief and satisfaction to the masses brought in their trail hatred and anger of the vested interests. As most of the peasants, debtors and craftsmen happen to belong to the majority community of the State, the exploitors started to give a communal colour and an anti-national interpretation to those reforms introduced by Sheikh Abdullah.

Then through the refugees and Praja Parishad movement the anti-national forces tried to depict him as the 'leader of the Muslims' only and that too of the Kashmir Valley.

From 1952 to 9th August 1953

In 1952 no local events had taken place in the Valley but winter experiences of Jan Sangh and Praja Parishad movement in other States of India has strongly influenced the winter-visitors from the Valley. They had gone back with apprehensions. This in turn was fully exploited by Pak elements. Though Sheikh Saheb was anti-Pakistani to the core yet to cloud issues—the pro-Pakistanis started using his name in slogans "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad"—Pakistan Zindabad—Rai Shumari Zindabad," became their call. Here again one was reminded of behaviour of communist elements in India in 1947 that made Nehru to say:

"I go to the country-side, and people with spikes and all sorts of destructive weapons, when they see me, shout

'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai', 'Jawaharlal-ki-jai'. I feel ashamed to hear these cries from these people, who might have committed murder, loot and arson, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi."

The conspirators exploited the mutual weak points to misrepresent rest of India in Kashmir. Once again the clouds of hatred and disbelief spread over the arena of political thinking and the moulders of public opinion allowed themselves to be again swept away by those very forces that had poisoned the atmosphere in 1947 and killed Bapu. They reappeared as the alluring golden deer, lulled up into the slogan of "aik nishan, aik pradhan, aik vidhan" and kidnapped the hearts of the people of the State and specially of the Valley. Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru warned us—pleaded with the moulders of public opinion but again frenzy had blinded their vision.

In June 1953 it was Sheikh Saheb who got the communalist elements of Srinagar arrested. Yet the conspirators tried to mislead the people of the State and India and make every one believe that "Sheikh Abdullah was confused and wavering." Had the press of India and the State known that their correspondents had become partisans and so they were not giving truthful and objective versions of developments—may be, the situation might not have deteriorated to such an extent.

From 9th August 1953 to 8th January, 1958

Such are the reasons that make people of Kashmir consider 9th August 1953 coup as conspiracy, sponsored by the international cold-war mongers, making the uprooted disgruntled element in the State and in India as their tools.

In his letter dated August 16, 1956, addressed to Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the then President J and K State Constituent Assembly, Sheikh Abdullah raised constitutional queries which remain unanswered even to this day. Write he—"civil liberties in the State have been buried deep, legitimate political activities are crippled and public life paralysed. Huge amounts

borrowed from India are being utilized in corrupting people, granting them contracts and other perquisites in order to prop up your regime."

"With the coup of 9th August '53 the first act of murder of democracy was committed when I was unconstitutionally and illegally removed from Premiership and simultaneously arrested and detained. This arbitrary removal from office of the Leader of he House without a formal vote of non-confidence is without a parallel in democracy and spontaneous mass protests from every nook and corner of Kashmir have registered an unequivocal condemnation against it. The Government pitchforked into office in consequence of this coup, therefore, does not and cannot enjoy even the semblance of public confidence.

"What followed 9th August is not unknown to you unless you find it convenient to forget. It is history now that promiscuous shooting took a heavy toll . . . thousands of people were arrested and tortured in order to break them into submission. The victims included high government officials, respectable citizens, lawyers of high status, members of Consembly and many freedom fighters of our movement. When these third degree methods could not coerce them, the victims with bruised and broken limbs were whisked off to various prisons in the State. The number of those detained under house arrest at Minister's residence, is so called hotels and other private buildings is legion and their tales of torture are equally heart rending. This blood curdling drama went on for long unabashed and unabated . . .

"In those circumstances you convened a session of the Assembly in order to seek vote of confidence for the new Government headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed who was the chief actor in the bloody drama of August '53 with you as the main collaborator."

In his reply to Sheikh Saheb at that time Mr Sadiq had denied all these charges, but soon after about a year he had to

severe his relations from the ruling party and then changing his previous 'considered' opinion he accounted—".... Certain elements had been encouraged within the Conference who had indulged in activities which had earned the National Conference the hostility of the people. The general secretary (Bakshi Rashid) of the National Conference for example Mr. Sadiq Said, had grown to enjoy powers in organisation and Government 'which have no parallel in the history of Kashmir', except perhaps during the Pathan and Sikh reigns in the area These elements had no stake within the organization except to further their self interest through the concept of authoritarianism within the National Conference and it's Government"

(The "Hindu", 8-8-57)

".... They (Mr. Sadiq and Mr. Dhar) made it clear that in the assertion of democratic rights they would not be cowed down by any gangster tactics or police repression."

"As You Sow so Shall You Reap"

On 13th August 1957 when Mr. Sadiq went to address a meeting at Anantnag, he and his followers, were faced with the same type of goondaism that Sheikhs, the people and other political opponents have been being subjected to since 9th August 1953. Such technique of goondaism shocked him and aroused his indignation to such an extent that it made him declare his determination to crusade against it.

For five long years the people in general and Sheikhs in particular have been tolerating repression and terroization with a sour heart and hardened attitude full of hatred for the ruling party.

Then the recent event of the Prime Minister of India's visit to Kashmir on 11th September 1957 and the mass scale repression and unscrupulous arrests of Sheikhs and nationalists added more gloom and despair to the tragic doom of the anti-two-nation -theorists of the unfortunate state.

Psychological Conspiracy to Exploit Anti-Pak Nationalism

A maligning and creating of fear complex campaign was dexterously started in rest of India with the help of their counter-parts in Pakistan to build up an "atmosphere of emergency and danger" in their respective countries and to get anyone who dares to oppose them condemned as "enemy agent." The tried nationalists were their targets.

1. Through bribery, threats and exploitation of their national Sentiments control the agencies of public contact including the press and to get them to function in a way that, would help their ulterior motives.
2. Exploit the nationalism, anti-Pak feelings and bitter experience of the Muslim Leaguers, that the people and moulders of public opinion in other State of India have under the cloak of "Security of the State in danger" to dumbfound them. To stop them from going to the help of their suffering brethren in the Valley. Further arguments were also used such as:
 - (a) "If you protest it will be exploited by enemies of India-Pakistan and would weaken national case in the Security Council."
 - (b) "The coup stagers are real patriots. In the countries, interests they even removed the leader—who made them and have suffered popular condemnation. Surely they can't do any thing that would harm the national interests."
 - (c) "Do not tell the truth to Nehru of what you have seen in the State. It will create embarrassment to Bakshi and others." And lastly if any dare devil still raises his voice of protest then to persecute the person to such an extent that would call for iron nerves to resist them!

This resulted in majority taking the line of least resistance and adopting an attitude of "I see no evil," "I hear no evil," "I speak no evil."

Double Edged Quizlings

Little did they know, that these very persons who were advising them to adopt the policy of "non-intervention in national interest," were wrongly representing them in the State and specially amongst those who were groaning under repression. Tauntingly they said to them "it serves you right for throwing your weight with the Hindu India—don't you see how they have let you down. At the time of the Praja Parishad agitation they all protested against Government actions to control them. Now not a word! This is only because you are Muslim!"

People Ignorant of True State of Affairs

It is not a general experience as to how ashamed and regretful the people in rest of India feel when this is brought to their notice. Sheikh Saheb's remarks that the Indian people "are seldom told the truth or given a frank and sincere appraisal of the developments here. What they do get is either as a sop or a provocation to their feeling," even now stands. Similarly one would like to add that to the people of J and K State in general and to those in the interior—what really are the feelings of their Indian colleagues is not known. On the basis of Pak radio campaign or bragging of those who are in power today or by actions of a few, or on the basis of newspapers coming from India to build up an impression that "every one is hostile, rank communalist and have possessive approach to the J and K State" is doing grave injustice to them. Just as the State people have able resisted the physical aspects of the communal theory e. g., communal intolerance, in the same way, the people of other states of India through vote have thrown over-board the communal parties from Indian political life. Until every Indian including the Kashmiri does not tone up his personal and mental make

up to face the crisis as an Indian (that cold-war mongers subject him into)—the ups and downs in relationship can't be avoided:

In Jammu province coalition between Bakshi and Prem Nath Dogra that took place in 1953 is now complete. Dogra Saheb is now "Bakshi's friend, philosopher and guide." Many communalists are now in the Ministry and the Legislature. All this gives a good cover to extend the policy that they desire to adopt in India. Moreover they count upon the following:

The complete blackout of factual events in the State, maligning campaign against Sheikh Abdullah, Sheikhites and all those who dare to stand by them has prejudiced public opinion against them:

Beware of Communal Strategy

So the conspirators believe that on release of Sheikh Saheb the question put to him by the people of India itself would be so provocative that would expose them as "communalists to the core and following dual code of conduct."

The feeling that "India does not trust you" will be vividly illustrated by such sub-conscious behaviour. This in turn would further estrange the people of Kashmir and make the task of reconciliation more difficult. They believe the press of India to be "Hostile". Therefore their correspondents and the editors could be exploited to further an atmosphere of apprehension and hostility against Sheikh Saheb and the people of the State. Such being the hopes of disruptive elements the question before the moulders of public opinion is whether through Sheikh Saheb's release we desire a fundamental change in policy and national outlook that would put an end to continuous process of undermining Bapu's above mentioned mission. If so, we will have to build up a strong public opinion in favour of recognising the truth and

to be alert against the strategy of two nation theorists, to exploit our-weakness for their ends. It is not enough for us to keep communal harmony in our areas but it is the mentality that needs to be changed and realization of the fact that unless and until our approach to all problems is like an Indian, we will expose ourselves for exploitation by "divide and rule" theorists. There are some in India who sincerely feel that Kashmir is a "liability. They little realize that this feeling itself reflects their communal background and an invitation to the cold-war mongers to work in India. In national field it has proved to be a disintegrating force—the cause of our slavery in the past.

II

SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S IMPENDING RELEASE— A TRAP ?

"The talks regarding Sheikh Saheb's release are going on but it is felt that the purpose behind this release is not to bring Sheikh, Nehru and other National High Command leaders nearer to each other and find a permanent solution to put an end to the terror and victimization of the people, but as it appears it is only to get "India out of embarrassment in the eyes of the world which is caused by Sheikh Saheb's continuous detention and imprisonment." Those who are in close touch with the State Authorities, do not hesitate to say that Sheikh Saheb's release is necessary to re-arrest him and get him punished in the court of Law.

"Some days back the notorious Police Officer Ganderbali was somewhere heard bragging that "I can prove that even Sheikh Abdullah has a close touch with the recent bomb explosions." This unveils the malicious intentions and evil designs of those who are to deal with Sheikh Saheb after his release.

"People like Maulana Masoodi ex- M. P. are naturally silent over it. It is difficult for a conscientious person to

strive for a release which is actually aimed to make fresh arrest to regularize the flaws committed in the past by the State Authorities.

"The Political crisis as well as the recent bomb explosion (The facts about which are not just the same as given by those in power) have horrified the people. Through new methods and devices they are meant to create an atmosphere to terror.

"Secret" Plan

More details of the plan that is being worked out by the counter parts of Indian Conspirators in the State are said to be:

1. Sheikh Saheb is likely to be released between mid-December and first half of January.
2. Circles close to Bakshi Saheb have been heard assuring their frightened supporters to the effect that:
 - (a) Sheikh Saheb would be soon released but would be rearrested within a short time on some fictitious charges. This time he will be tried so that he could be detained for life.
 - (b) Notorious goondas are being employed to demonstrate against him, they hope to provoke him and the people of the State and India to act in such a way as to re-arrest him under "treasonable offences." They will pose as "Sheikhites", raise anti-Indian and Pro-Pakistan Slogans in Sheikh Saheb's meeting and gatherings. These will be tape recorded by the State Authorities and would be sent to Union Government as "Proof of Sheikh Saheb's Anti-national and dangerous role. This will also be used to excite Indian press and the people of India and Jammu province, to get their blind support to let loose bloody rule of repression in the interest of "Security of the State".

- (c) They should not worry about their future on grounds of Sheikh Saheb's release—as he can do no harm when the ruling party has some Government of India officers stationed in the State "in their pockets" and are "Hushed up". Then again they have the C. R. P. militia, Special Police Staff and Police to 'protect' them.
- (d) "It is further said that to doubly reassure them fire arms have been distributed to notorious National Conferencites and office bearers and at that time the C. R. P. will guard their residences.

Besides this the Main Points of the "Secret Plan" are Said to be

1. Before release to frighten people repressive measures will be taken. Houses will be searched and C. R. P. will patrol all areas.
2. Plebiscite Front active workers and supporters of Sheikh Abdullah would be arrested and rounded up as the ruling party did on the eve of Nehru's visit to the State.
3. Ruling party thinks the Sheikh Saheb will hold his first meeting in Hazrat Bal so their plan is either to close the way or to beat those who would try to go there. Section 50 and section 144 are already in force.
4. Sheikh Saheb's supporters will be beaten and panic will be created. Efforts are likely to be made to get Sheikh Saheb attacked by the goondas. On top of all this, Ganderbali is reported to be openly saying that "Sheikh will meet his death at his hands and that he would slap Sheikh if he would dare to utter a word."

The following administrative changes are popularly attributed to be a prelude to the above :

Officers have been transferred and new changes are being made in the Police Department. Sub-Inspectors in whose loyalty the present ruling party has full confidence and who are known to be against Sheikh Saheb have been appointed in Thanas and 'Suspected' ones' have been transferred to the lines. A special C. I. D. unit has been prepared to keep watch on Sheikh Saheb. Barracks in jails are also being cleaned and C. R. P. is being trained. At the top of all this, it is said that I. G. P. who is an Indian officer on deputation to the State, "proposed to keep away from the Valley" but in case he cannot do so, then it is said he is not "trusted" and so has been asked to delegate his powers to the notorious Special Police Staff officer, S. P. Ganderbali who will have "Supreme control" over the C. R. P., Militia, Police, Special Police Staff, Home Guards and will direct their "Operations,"

Another Conspiracy Case

According to a reliable source another conspiracy case has been registered. The charge is that Plebiscite Front leaders and Sheikholes are corresponding with "Pakistanis and are getting financial help from them". In this case Beg Saheb, Soofi Saheb Kh. Ali Shah, Chikan Saheb, Pir Maqbool Gilani, Mirza Ghulam Qadir Beg, and many other persons (majority of them are in the jail since more than 15 months and a few staying in Delhi) are alleged to have been involved. Government witness is Zamanpare. The whole case is fictitious like other cases. It is believed that Government took legal advice and were advised against such a step. Inspite of this, it has been secretly registered. Recently Bakshi Saheb was here. Silk factory labour sources are heard saying that he sent for their representatives and told them to hold demonstrations against Sheikh Saheb on his release. They flatly refused.

Then again from official sources it is said that Kashmir Police uniforms are being distributed to all to hide identity.

It is said that the Union authorities have severely warned the State authorities against allowing any such conspiracy or secret plan to materialize—they want congenial atmosphere to be created. Yet the local agents of conspirators with full confidence are going ahead. They think they will be able to convince the Union Authorities and the world that “no trouble had taken place at the instance of State Government nor through National Conference. But what could one do if the people were against Sheikh and would not tolerate him, take the law in their own hands and breach of law and order takes place !”

Some Indian Officers including Vishnu Sahai have again adopted the attitude of “I see no evil, I hear no evil, I speak no evil.” Sahai’s presence has not brought about any fear of consequences in these goondas or to stop the above “preparations is the general belief. On the other hand the conspirators sight his role prior to 9th August 1953 and feel confident of success in getting his and other officers’ full backing in misleading the Union Authorities, Indian leaders, the Indian Press and the people of other States of India.

Side by side the bogey of Guerilla warfare has been exaggeratedly projected. It is painful to see, how the present ruling party has been able to make many in authority distrust the possibilities of keeping the home front strong with popular effort and backings. Therefore the continuous demand of India for C. R. P. and more funds.

No one here is against precautionary measures but when they take the shape of fear complex then it becomes a grazing ground for bullies and black mailers. The way C. R. P. and funds are placed at the disposal of the State Authorities and the lack of control to safeguard against their misuse is the cause for protest. The unwillingness to see through this mischief is clear proof that there is something fundamentally wrong. Since 9th August 1953 there has not been a winter when rumours are not let loose from official sources. On one side, starts the story of possible release of Sheikh Saheb and

on the other starts the bogey of Guerilla warfare by Pak agents in the State or outside, from across the border. Through rumour mongers, situation of "grave emergency" is created. In the name of security C. R. P. and funds are secured and then they are diverted to terrorise the people and make them feel as if they are living in curfew atmosphere. The C. R. P. units are misled by local guides and are used by them to take personal vengeance or for power politics. Then these very guides take heavy "fees" to get the victim out of the clutches of "terrorists who come from India" as they make the population to believe. Thus to the majority of the National Conferencites the winter becomes a season of minting easy money through "misdeeds" of C. R. P. and bogey of Guerilla warfare. To the people it is a ghastly experience.

They again it is said that their co-conspirators in Jammu Province and other States of India are at work. Hence the need for national alertness against exploitation by two-nation theorists and their cold-war. One might ask what is the role of the Democratic National Conference of Sadiq Saheb? To the people it appears to be mysterious. On one side they "desire Sheikh Saheb's release" and on the other the people of Jammu hear their important members stating "Bakshi can't resist Sheikh—we only can be a match to him."

Is it true that "the Kashmir Committees that have been started in various cities of India and primarily meant to boost up Bakshi regime and are preparing to start a maligning campaign against Sheikh Saheb ? Many of their members are said to be allergic to Sheikh Saheb for their own ulterior motives. Some being old Muslim Leaguers or belonging to communalist, non-Muslim organisations and they want those Committees to be used to conduct a movement against the people, Sheikh Saheb and others.

Jammu Province

"News have been received that communal and caste feelings are being flared up to mislead popular urge to demand

release of Sheikh Saheb—Coupling of efforts to communal trouble with Pak plan to create disturbances in Jammu province is likely to have dangerous repercussions if all are not alert. Most of these stories have come from Rajouri, Poonch area. It is also believed that mischievous non-Muslim elements have infiltrated into Jammu province from other States of India to exploit the situation when the "call" is given.

They hope to take benefit of lack of public alertness of the province and through shock tactics force it to behave according to their plan. They want to revive the plan of 1953. With outside help flare up local passions that would help communalist in the valley to work on the confused people. "How will you keep in touch with India when the road is surrounded by hostile non-Muslims?" is the question put to them.

Due to the intervention of the Union Government if "Srinagar plan" fails then this second Plan is likely to go into operation.

Only Governmental efforts cannot check this. Conscious public opinion is the need of the day. So Plebiscite Front workers Sheikhites and others in the valley have started cautioning the people against foul-play. They have been asked not to believe in rumours including Pak, "Azad Kashmir", Kashmir Radio and National Conferencites' canards—not to believe in alleged oral messages that may be sent in the name of those whom they trust. To keep a chain of contact link with trusted person who would ascertain fact and immediately give truthful information. In case of Sheikh Saheb's release not to let themselves go amuck that will help the opponents. One should behave with discipline, self-control and non-violence. In larger national interests it might be necessary for the people not to demonstrate their joy and relief. Let no one give any opportunity to opponents to mar the occasion as they plan to do. Even at the risk of being taunted it might be necessary to keep back people from coming out in processions to greet Sheikh Saheb "Zulam Ka sabr aur adam-e- tashaddud se

samma karo" (*Resist repression with patience and non-violence*) is our call to the people. The day of release should be a day of prayers, introspection, and non-violent behaviour.

Lastly, the situation in the State and especially in the Valley has been terribly trying to the population. Nature-cum-man made catastrophes have made struggle for life acute. In this atmosphere tampering with already strained emotions of the people is like playing with fire. As mentioned earlier all responsible persons have appealed to the people to face the development with cool courage and as far as responsible workers are concerned they are determined not to yield to coercion and changing of their Iman.

Peaceful Advice

The very nature of the peaceful advice and lead for Code of conduct given to the people of Kashmir in the event of the possible release of Sheikh Saheb proves the bonafides and good wishes of the admirers and followers of Sheikh Abdullah as below: (their forewarnings have come out to be prophesies).

1. Not to be provoked if workers are rounded up by the Authorities and remember the lead Gandhiji gave in 1945. After his release on medical grounds Gandhiji said "On the arrest of the principal Congress-men on the 9th day of August 1942, every Congressman became his own leader competent to act as he liked provided that his action fell within the limits prescribed by truth and non-violence."
2. The authorities appear to be sensitive of Sher-i-Kashmir's popularity and therefore occasionally they adopt childish behaviour e. g. on Id day and Birthday greeting, and messages in thousands to Sher-i-Kashmir have been kept back. May be by this, the Authorities wanted to make the outsiders feel that "Sheikh's following is dwindling." Similar aim appears to be on his release by obstructing

congratulating crowds to reach Sheikh Saheb and allowing their own hirelings and stooges "to go in crowds and abuse Sheikh Saheb."

Power-intoxication often makes one forget the warnings of history. What the foreign government could not achieve in creating obstructions between people of India and their popular leaders, what ruling party in Pak could not do in keeping back the people from going to Badshah Khan, the panicky ruling party in the State hope to do by this Plan. They want to be provoked into violence and provoke us to take to violent cult of retaliation.

For 53 months people have creditably refused to oblige them. In fact popular behaviour has caused them greater frustration and made them desperate. The plan in a concrete proof of this attitude of theirs.

3. "Distribution of fire-arms" to the members of ruling party is an exhibition of their panic that "their victims will use this occasion to take vengeance" when Sheikh Saheb is released.

This shows that until now those who were instruments of cold-war mongers have now become their victims and have unnecessarily started fearing their own brethren.

4. If Sheikh Saheb is released it will mean that he has to get first-hand information of all that has happened during these 53 months. Besides gathering first-hand local information and currents do people not desire that he should meet Nehru and other national leaders in Delhi before he comes to any conclusion and gives a lead?

In our own and national interests let us not give cause to the reactionary elements to distort our desire and create cloud of misunderstandings as they did prior to 9th August 1953 and on Nehru's recent visit. This can only be avoided if we adopt strict path of self-discipline and through slogans or words do-not create a situation that would call for Sheikh

Saheb's lead before he can complete his assessment of the situation and the old bond of mutual reliance is not reforged between Nehru and Sheikh.

5. Remember to the fearless and not to believe in rumours.

Our past experience should lead us to investigate into our weaknesses and those of the movement and inspire us to continue our efforts not to yield to two-nation theorists' designs on one hand and widening of the gulf between us in the valley and other regions of the State and between people of the State and other parts of India on the other.

Vigilance Against "Gogas"

Reports have been received of acute food situation in rural areas which are causing grave concern to the population and to the local rural workers. It is therefore natural for them to publicly express their grievances through meetings and demonstrations.

The anti-Sheikh and anti-democratic groups who like vultures are seeking any opportunity to fall on the people and exploit their emotions and trials are hoping to use this against Sheikh Saheb, in case he is released. They will come out as "more daring leaders" of the hungry and lead them to Sheikh Saheb. "This will divert his attention from the basic priorities and get him involved into this agitation", is their hope.

Then again they hope to sway the Sheikhtes. They think that, seeing them taking the "revolutionary lead", Sheikhtes and Plebiscite Front workers might get afraid of losing leadership and so will try to be more progressive than them—thus falling in their trap of being used to coerce Sheikh Saheb."

We are sure that all workers and the people will not oblige the "Gogas" in this new 'libas' and allow their aim to succeed.

Other Problems

Further there are many other acute problems also like the food and essential commodities scarcity, dropping of the purchasing power, the crisis of the character and need for strengthening resistance against war of rumours etc. The present ruling party has miserably failed in being able to check the trend towards deterioration, not that they could not have done so but their values were different. Instead of making governmental power effective instrument for the welfare and service of the people they have used it for reviving and consolidating the old uprooted vested interests who are traditionally feudal in their set up and ideology.

Unfortunately, they are mortally afraid of Sheikh Saheb's release and consider it as a great catastrophe. So, like many other words, caution also has different meaning in governmental and popular vocabulary. The public opinion in India is being fed by the governmental version *i. e.* creating a bogey of "danger to the security of the State in case of Sheikh Saheb's release". As against it the popular call for caution is to beware against those in authority in the State and their abettors outside.

This question has deeper repercussions than what is apparent. For the last 53 months moulders of public opinion in India have generally backed the minority view and we have experienced its adverse result in the international policy. We have seen the strengthening of cold war in the State and in other States. If we continue this attitude at this crucial hour and let down the unanimous popular effort, then we will be responsible for the consequences and not the people of the State. Time has come when we must mobilise ourselves to help the popular efforts in the State and be vigilant of exploitation by agent provocateurs who are in search of a base amongst us and therefore the following precautionary measures:

1. To remember that Sheikh Saheb and the people of the State are victims of the same force and ideology

that was behind the assassination of Gandhiji and wanted to get rid of him because of his mission for 'Do or Die' i. e. Hindu Muslim unity—in other words unity of India and make the people conscious that they are first and foremost Indians.

2. To realize that we have been victims of Goebblestic campaign about Sheikh Saheb, his colleagues as well as the State peoples' outlook and attitude. Therefore, adopt an unbiased attitude and keep an objective approach and not to believe in any ideology attributed to those whose views are blanked out or distorted in reporting by the press or others. The latest example of this is the "Times of India" publication dated the 28th December 1957, under the heading "No Change in Mr. Abdullah Stand on Kashmir's Future". It is the report of Sheikh Saheb's letter published in "Sach", Jammu. How different is the emphasis given in the report and the actual one will be seen from the following reproduction of that letter in "Sach", published on 27th December 1957:

Sheikh Saheb's Message

"I thank you with all my heart for the greetings sent by you on the occasion of my 52nd birthday. It is a strange coincidence that the end of the 52nd year of my birth brings to a close the 52nd month of my detention. However, life means living for a purpose. It is the purpose that produce the will to act, the desire to become something and the determination to direct one's energies to a particular end. The object of my life has always been that the toiling people of Kashmir should be made the real possessors of power and authority and the journey of my life will continue in spite of all difficulties and impediments, until I reach this goal.

"The success of my journey does not depend on where I stop for rest nor on the paths I follow. If there is strength in the feet and if there is the courage to go on and on, the end is

attained some time or other. Disappointment and failure are the lot of him who is so lured by the attractions on the wayside that he settles down there and becomes unmindful of his ultimate objective, what we call success is the urge to keep on moving forward. To halt and to nurse one's weariness is to court failure and frustration.

"What is the trepidation of the wave but the expression of unsatisfied longing?

"God's gift is that which lies hidden within the mother-of-pearl.

"The eagle never falls exhausted from his flight.

"If you have resources of strength, there is no danger of a fall."

"My love, respect and greetings to all friends."

It is difficult to understand how the press have seen a sinister motive behind it specially when they in their own columns have often supported the ideology of 'sovereignty vests with the people', and voiced the national leaders and popular dissatisfaction at the delay of this ideology being implemented through the administration and at the behaviour of some in the Congress party. Surely Sheikh Saheb is not being detained for wanting to transfer power of governments to the hands of the people? The controversy on States Reorganisation has proved how difficult is the task of extending the local patriotism to national sphere. Aspirations of the people of J and K State will also take the same time in transformation as that of the people of any State of India.

Some make a grievance at Sheikh Saheb using the word 'Kashmiri' only and give it a narrow interpretation. Do not the Indians of all other States of India take pride in calling themselves Bengalis, Gujratis and Punjabis etc.? One may be excused for asking as to whether such an attitude is not the reflection of one's own outlook? What is the role we want Sheikh Saheb to play? If India wants him to share the

responsibility of nation building as he used to do in the past and treat responsibility of nation building as he used to do in the past and treat him and the people of Kashmir on the basis of 'trust begets trusts', let us have no doubt that the word Kashmiri here means the people of India also because Sheikh Saheb and Kashmiris have always considered themselves Indians also.

3. Control all those who want to throw their weight with the ruling party in the State and who want to misquote the statements of the moulders of public opinion in India and the press for creating misunderstanding between the people of the State and other States of India.
4. During the last two years members connected with all political parties in the Lok Sabha have expressed their views in favour of Sheikh Saheb's release, thus extending justice and fairplay to him and the people of the State. Yet for the ruling party in the State to claim that "they have popular support from other States of India", is it not maligning the nation?
5. Most of the press are playing an important role in the national construction and are helping to achieve the emotional integration of the country under the leaderships of Nehru. Are 53 months not enough for the editors to assess the best way of procuring the truthful objective reports of the happenings in the State and see that their newspapers are not exploited for campaigning by the cold war mongers? Just as the moulders of public opinion in J and K State have strained every nerve to stop their exploitation against national interest, is it not possible for the press of India to adopt the same policy and keep back from spreading maligning stories as it happened in connection with the recent news about the letter of Sheikh Saheb, published above? The "Times of India" first gave it and others followed suit without making

any effort to find out the real text of the letter and assess for themselves as to whether emphasis given by the "Times of India" reporter was objective and fair to the writer of the letter—Sheikh Saheb.

In the separate chapter about press in this booklet it has been politely shown such biased publications only serve the cause of two national theorists and weaken the home front against cold-war which the people of the State are single-handedly putting up against odds. If we can't do any thing else, let us at least decide not to undermine them. Weakening their efforts is equal to weakening the second line of defence of the armed forces that are guarding our frontiers.

III

POPULAR SUPPORT FOR VIGILANCE MOVE

The political parties in the J and K State are discussing the story of Sheikh Saheb's impending release and giving instruction to their workers and followers. It is gratifying to note how the saner elements in the State have broken through the political barriers and are able to rise to the occasion to assert and foil the evil designs of those who want to create an 'atmosphere of chaos and develop disturbances' in the event of Sheikh Saheb's release. Sheikhs and nationalist elements feel that in the past had they not been taken unawares. The 9th August 1953 coup would not have succeeded. The cold-war mongers are now hoping to get a base amongst them to attack and the earlier this is realized the better. As far as the moulders of public opinion in J and K State are concerned, their line of alertness is as follows:

In almost all political parties the ruling party has a cell of agent provocateurs through whom pressure is brought on the party to play the turn of their masters. It is through them that on this occasion the ruling party has decided to continue

their efforts to stage anti-Sheikh demonstrations at any cost. Coercive measures have failed to get other political economic organisations to take an initiative in this matter. For example:

The Kashmiri Pandits were approached and told to demonstrate against Sheikh Saheb. They refused. Majority of them are likely to take a neutral attitude. Muslim Conference and members of the Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah's family were also approached by a friend of Bakshi Saheb. They were told that an old enemy of theirs was going to be released and were asked as to whether they would not hold even a demonstration against him. A meeting was held attending by active Muslim Conferencites and Muslims Leaguers to consider this, in which Bakshi Ghulam Nabi, brother of Bakshi Saheb was also present. When the purpose was explained, all members opposed it, resulting in Bakshi Ghulam Nabi having to leave the meeting. The Shia Mullahs were asked to organise demonstrations against Sheikh Saheb but their leader excused himself by saying that these days he was not well. The political Conferencites were also approached and were asked to raise the following slogans:

1. Pakistan Zindabad.
2. Faujon ko Nikalo.
3. Hind-Kashmir Ilhaq Murdabad.

As a party they also refused but some individuals who are in the pay of the ruling party agreed and the campaign has been started. They are reported to have said in a meeting that when Sheikh Saheb will be released, they will tell him that 'people are suffering and sacrificing since 9th August 1953, not for his person but because they want Pakistan to be extended to Kashmir!' Workers have been asked to hold above mentioned slogans in Sheikh Saheb's meetings.

Mazdoor Union says that they are ready to raise slogans of Zindabad but they would raise slogans of Murdabad against no one. It is said that Mazdoor leaders will be punished for giving such a reply.

Flood victims of Srinagar villages were asked by Government agents who distribute rations and other relief to hold demonstrations against Sheikh and raise slogans against him. Their reply is said to be "God is angry with us; that is why we are facing flood and famine and now if we insult and abuse a good man like Sheikh, God will punish us more. So, we will go without rations but will not do the thing you are asking us to do."

Leaders of Democratic National Conference, Sadiq Saheb and others were approached to prevent Sheikh Saheb's release. It is believed that Bakshi Saheb himself told D. P. Dhar and Mir Qasim that "the way people are against us, in the same manner they are also against you and therefore they should collectively face the situation". But they both refused and said that they were not against the release of Sheikh Saheb.

Jammu Province

Like the Political Conference of the valley, the Praja Parishad members are likely to be split up in their attitude towards Sheikh Saheb's release.

Organisationaly, on about the 20th of December in a public meeting in Jammu city, the Praja Parishad workers alerted the public against the possibility of officially sponsored communal disturbances and asked them not to retaliate or be their instruments. It is believed that some of their members have secretly agreed to individually or collectively work as agent provocateurs of the rulings party and may be used for instigating cult of retaliation in the event of agent provocateurs in Kashmir Valley being able to create a communal tension in the State.

Underhand Pressure

The members of the Legislative Assembly are again subjected to pressure tactics. The Democratic National Conference are trying to lull them into their parlour under

the belief that they have more support from some authorities in the Union Government and have been promised to be backed into Government if they get the majority in a 'democratic way'. Sheikh Saheb's name is also being used to win over support. In some cases heavy baits are said to be offered. As against this, the ruling party is freely distributing transport and other licences and contracts etc. to keep their loyalties with them.

"Membership of Lok Sabha" is an additional authority to Bakshi Rashid to coerce the National Conferencites to act as storm-troopers to terrorise his 'opponents'. During the Lok Sabha session Bakshi Rashid rushed to Srinagar to organise anti-Sheikh demonstrations. It is said that in a meeting of his trusted workers he instructed them to (*i*) hold meetings in all areas and warn the people not to attend meetings and processions to welcome Sheikh Saheb; (*ii*) to warn them that action would be taken against those who would not do this—such as their ration cards will be confiscated and they will be arrested and persecuted; (*iii*) in case of government employees or government factory labour, they will not be given their pay if caught attending such meeting; (*iv*) to tell them that "Sheikh Saheb will not remain out for long. His activities will be closely watched and if he again commits any mistake, he will be thrown back in jail for a longer term". So to beware of future in case they decide to welcome Sheikh.

Some days ago, Kh. Saifuddin Makhdoomi, president, Tehsil National Conference, Srinagar speaking at Mujahid Manzil asked the workers of Mazdoor Union to remain prepared as they would soon get some orders. "This time they will have to show their strength to their opponents."

The services of goondas have been requisitioned and they are being rehearsed as to the part they have to play in anti-Sheikh demonstrations and in creating communal troubles.

Overweening Bakshi "Overactive"

The press reports about Bakshi Saheb's visits to the valley give an impression that it is to attend to administrative problems and to keep up the morale. But his trusted workers are heard by the people stating that "his visits are to finalise the programme of anti-Sheikh, anti-India demonstrations." Through Premnath Dogra the anti-Nehru, anti-Congress elements in India have been promised that "if the National High Command and specially Nehru insists of Sheikh's release and try for reconciliation with him, then he will create such a situation in the State that will be their doom's day."

"Having miserably failed to provoke section of the population to play the role of agent provocateurs to stage anti-Sheikh demonstrations, Bakshi is reported to have ordered collection of old Kashmiri clothes for distribution among the police C. R. P., Special Police Staff and his hirelings (numbering thousands) so that they could come out as Kashmiri citizens to demonstrate against Sheikh Saheb or to augment audience in Bakshi's meetings and celebrations." This is not a new game because since 9th August 1953, whenever the VIPs come and there is difficulty to collect a crowd, it has been a practice to see police and even the militia play the part of 'civilians' in receptions.

To guide the people and warn them against provocation Plebiscite Front issued posters and the same were struck on the walls and circulated in the State. The police, C. I. D., Peace Brigade and workers of the National Conference tore down those posters and thus tried to hinder the message of caution and code of conduct in the event of provocative atmosphere to reach the people.

A close friend of Bakshi Saheb is alleged to have said that "Bakshi Saheb was really very worried but now he is not so as he has the assurance of someone in the Union authorities that whatever may happen, one of the conditions will be to keep him in power." These forces are satisfied that "the

Government of India is not releasing Sheikh Saheb for reconciliation but because conditions are in favour of India and the risk could be taken."

Peace Precautions Invite Further Repression

The manner in which the Sheikhs and the Plebiscite Front have started cautioning the people against provocation has disturbed some in the ruling party. They now feel that their conspiracy to provoke Sheikh Saheb and create a situation that would force the authorities to rearrest him and all his followers, will get delayed.

May be, to avoid this they have adopted the policy of obstruction and repression on Sheikhs who go to rural areas to give instructions of caution to the people. On 26th December 1957 Ali Md. Naik, a staunch Sheikhs and acting president of the Plebiscite Front, went to Shopian to attend a meeting of workers. After giving them directions regarding impending release of Sheikh Saheb and the code of conduct, they discussed the food scarcity and the popular demand to take away the food distribution from the hands of the local National Conferencites and give it to an impartial official agency.

The Peace Brigade attacked his jeep and broke the window glasses and screen. As the police was standing by, without registering a complaint with them, Ali Mohammed Naik and party returned back to Srinagar. Then the Peace Brigade fell upon the local workers, and severely beat and manhandled them. The following were arrested under Section 107,151 117. Cr.P.C. and released after four or five days on bail of Rs. 500/- each Ali Mohammed Naik has filed a complaint under Section 392 Cr.P.C. As a result instead of the real attackers, the police arrested from Shopian (1) Abdul Rashid (2) Peer Ghulam Mohammed (3) Abdul Aziz Parey (4) Ghulam Qadir Parey (5) Ghulam Mohd. Taak, all workers and sympathisers of the Plebiscite Front.

The Sheikhites are yet being made victims of fabricated documents and harassed by being involved in 'conspiracies. How Enemy Agents ordinance and the Central Intelligence are being exploited for domestic purposes, is well illustrated in the latest case of Pir Abdul Ghani of Islamabad (Anantnag).

Personality Vendetta

The repression in Anantnag District has special significance as it has nothing to do with ideological conflicts between groups but it is purely a parsonality conflict and the efforts of the ruling partly to replace popular leadership by their stooges through gooadism and repression.

From 9th August 1953 to June 1957, efforts were made to "weaken" Beg Saheb's leadership in favour of Mir Qasim who has joined the dissidents' group, now the efforts are to build up Shamsuddin Katta, a new Minister'. Not only the followers of Mir Qasim are being victimised but the followers of both continue to make the Sheikhites and the Beg group their target.

Now is the turn of Pir Abdul Ghani a staunch follower of Sheikh Saheb and since his release in June 1957 he has been an ardent resister of communalists, pro-Pak elements and opportunists like Shamsuddin Katta, Mir Qasim and others. Therefore, he was an eye-sore to all of them. At last they got an opportunity to arrest him:

On or about 11th December 1957, he was arrested. Details are given in the following two telegrams that have been received:

1. SHAMSUDDIN MINISTERS VICTIMIZATION WITH SOME UNKNOWN FABRICATION HOUSE SEARCHED BROTHER PEER ABDULGANI ARRESTED ON ELEVENTH DECEMBER....

The later telegram says:

2. SHAMSUDDIN CALLED FOR ABDULGANI CONNECTION OUR DOMESTIC DISPUTE PEER

REFUSED PRESENCE DAY AFTER SEARCH
ARREST MADE PEER AT INTERROGATION
CENTRE DETAINED SEC. 3 WARRANT FOR
KOTHIBAGH.

It is further learnt that 'he is being subjected to tortures to get a statement against Sheikh Saheb and Sheikhs'.

In the house search nothing was found except circulars of Mridula Sarabhai and Plebiscite Front yet Katta—Mir Qasim group make it known that 'authorities have documentary proof to involve him and others.'

Popular Cooperation

The Sheikhs and workers of the Plebiscite Front continue their vigilance. They have planned a programme of meeting to warn the people against the above plan of the B. B. C. in authority. Stress is being put on the maintenance of communal harmony. How effective their efforts have been, can be proved from the popular behaviour against the recent rumours *i. e.* Sheikh Saheb's release.

On 17th December, through the official hirelings, a rumour had been floated that 'Sheikh Saheb has been released and is reaching Sowra to-night'. This rumour was similar to the one that was started on 22nd May 1955. People collected in various areas. But they did not exhibit their reactions until they got the news confirmed by the Central Office and its responsible sources. The people remained peaceful in every respect. Looking to the discipline of the people, the ruling party personnel became nervous and became certain that none of their move was going to bring out any fruit.

All this has resulted in convincing those who have given up politics that Sheikh Saheb's present is based on dishonesty, unless Pandit Nehru personally handles the situation and saves it from exploitation.

The Praja Socialist Party, State unit, has always stood for restoration of civil liberties, release of Sheikh Saheb and

reconciliation with him and the people. So they are cautioning the people against the agent provocateurs.

As far as the Government of India is concerned, from the ruling party sources, it has been learnt that "Shri Vishnu Sahay and the Indian I. G. P. of the State have been made responsible for maintaining the 'law and order and controlling the disruptive forces."

Therefore, to create disturbances, communal clashes, loot, etc., appears to be difficult but that does not dissuade the trouble generators from their Knavish designs. The hard nuts yet feel that 'they will get a chance of creating disturbances and forcing the C. B. P. dislouse repression by creating false alarms panicky rumours.' They hope to get support and backing from individuals belonging to the State and some in India, who want to resist Sheikh Saheb's release and the President's rule and want or organise demonstrations against such a possibility.

It is unfortunate that they further feel that "they will get Indian press support and as a proof of it, they quote the recent maligning campaign in some Urdu press of India and a few write ups in English press.

Delhi

Bakshi Saheb and Bakshi Rashid do not appear to be satisfied with the Government of India's arrangement to cover their opponents like Mridulaji and those who stay with her and Ch. Mohd. Shaffee. Therefore, special contingents of CID officers, Peace Brigade and hirelings have been sent to Delhi to cover them. They have been given a posh car to follow Mridulaji's car wherever it goes.

Srinagar

In this period of trials and crisis, it is surprising how the authorities are allowing the influx of foreign visitors in the State. Most of them are not visitors but give an idea of being 'fact-finders' and appear to be awaiting the 'day of great

importance' for which they have undertaken this journey. Sheikh Saheb's house is heavily watched not only by the official CID but the hirelings from the under-world, recently recruited in the Peace Brigade, also.

It is said that Bakshi Saheb has personally invited press correspondents from India and abroad to be present in Srinagar before the release of Sheikh Saheb actually takes place.

IV

CONSPIRACY UNFOLDING ITSELF

The previous popular warnings of the conspiracy hatched by Bakshi Brothers and others is now unfolding itself. The ruling party is creating a situation, if possible on communal lines to force the Union authorities to yield to their designs "to get Sheikh Saheb and others re-arrested under the charge of fanning up communalism and many other charges", is now being worked out.

Popular Enthusiasm Repressed

The news of the release of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, was broadcast by the Delhi Radio at 6.30 P. M. on the 8th of January '58 spread like wildfire. The citizens began to shout slogans of "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad and long live Abdullah" and at all places, of the city crackers were fired. The citizens began to pour into Sowra where Sheikh Saheb's residential house is situated. At Nowshera, Hawal and in the vicinity of Nallah Amir Khan where darkness prevails even in moonlit night, Government-paid agents and the so-called peace brigadiers accompanied by K. R. P. , C. R. P. and Militia, all headed by Saifuddin Makhdoomi, the Tehsil president of the Government National Conference, came to molest the people who were rushing towards Sowra. They caught hold of dozens of these people beat them and robbed them of their blankets, watches, money, turbans and whatever they could lay their hands on and ran away with their booty. In the same way these Government paid gangsters assaulted the friends of

Sheikh Saheb and the workers of the Plebiscite Front at Jamalata, Dabtal Mushala Mohalla, Hawal etc. At Chatabal, Alimullah halqa president of the Government National Conference beat severely some of the workers of the Plebiscite Front and took them into custody placing them in lockups of the nearest police station. The workers of the Plebiscite Front are impressing upon the people to bear these atrocities patiently and keep peace under all circumstances and at all hazards, and their slogans should be only "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad, Free Plebiscite Zindabad and Hindoo Muslim Unity Zindabad i. e. (long live Sher-i-Kashmir, Free and Impartial Plebiscite and Hindoo Muslims Unity)

The public informed Pt. Pant, late Maulana Azad, Inspector General Police Kashmir and Mridula Sarabhai, telegraphically of all these evil intentions of the ruling party, but it is learnt from reliable sources that these telegrams have not gone beyond the telegraph office where these were expected to be wired.

Thousands of people started in cars to receive Sheikh Saheb at Qazikund, but Ghulam Qadir Ganderbali Superintendent Special Staff with his gang did not allow them to proceed threatening the people and drivers with murders and confiscation of there licences.

Letting loose of the communal hatred campaign and by attributing it to Sheikh Saheb to terrify the press and the public opinion in India and of the minorities in the State to 'secure unquestionable support' for repression against the Sheikhtes is coupled with acts of terrorisation.

Since the 12th January 1958 revival of severe repression has started on their opponents. This time another Bakshi brother—Hamid—who was one of the accused in 1954 case of assault on Asoka Mehta has been the ring leader in the 'job' to terrorize the people as was done after 9th August 1953. From the 12th January onwards the incidents of individual and collective attacks, looting of personal belongings, man-handling and illegal detentions in Thanas

have been renewed and every day its intensity is increasing due to non-interference by the C. R. P. which, it is said was sent to 'maintain law and order.' The following are sample cases of repression:

12th January

At many places decorations were pulled down and the persons erecting them were asked to give written statements alleging that "Sheikhites has forced them to decorate the route." Those who refused were man-handled and beaten. Amongst them prominent workers M/s Ghulam Mohd, Sofi, Master Wali Malik, Abdul Rahim Ashmandar, Mohd. Sultan Wani and Abdual Aziz alongwith several others were taken into custody by the notorious S. P. Ghulam Qadir Ganderbali. Later on they were transferred to various Thanas, subjected to inhuman treatment and released after 3 days.

13th January

In the evening when the congregation was returning from Hazratbal Urs, at dark corners of the roads the State police, goondas and National Conferencites had gathered. They beat up children and manhandled women. Nearly 30 bus drivers alongwith their passengers were beaten.

14th January

The police and goondas headed by Bakshi Abdul Hamid started looting and assaulting the people who had set up arches, bunting and other decorations in honour of Sheikh Saheb. Messrs Abdual Aziz, Habib Ahangar and Ghulam Nabi were amongst the more than a dozen people who were given beating and deprived of their belongings. Even Mohd. Ismail, was subjected to cruel treatment. One Habib Butt's bicycle was broken and currency worth Rs. 75/- snatched from his person. Another public worker Ghulam Mohammed Dar was assaulted by Peace Brigade volunteers who also took away his Kangri and threw the burning coal over his head.

Moreover, it has been reliably learnt that 'some local newsmen and others were sent for and asked to report the Government version of Sheikh Saheb's activities and especially show him as a communalist, failing which they were threatened with dire consequences.

The following telegram addressed by Maulana Mohammed Saeed Masoodi substantiates this and briefly reveals the situation prevailing in Srinagar and the Valley:

"NOW IN ORDER TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF HAPPY EVENT IT IS NECESSARY FOR ALL TO JOIN HANDS FOR HELP CREATE CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE STOP BUT REGRET SAY I AM COMPELLED TO INFORM YOU THAT STATE AUTHORITIES TACTICS DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE UNDERGONE ANY CHANGE STOP CASES OF ATROCITIES LOOT ARSON BY SO CALLED PEACE BRIGADE ETC. ARE ON INCREASE SINCE LAST FOUR DAYS STOP SECTION OF INDIAN PRESS BELIEVED BRIBED TO DISTORT SHEIKH SAHEB'S SPEECHES AND THUS HELP CREATE VICIOUS ATMOSPHERE STOP".

Phases of Pressure Tactics

Since the release of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah on January 8, 1958, the following three phases of repression have been popularly experienced.

1. Efforts to foil popular reception to Sheikh Saheb by pressure tactics, bluff and agent-provocateurs trying to stage violent acts. This collapsed because of the multitude of people, turning out to receive Sheikh Saheb and their discipline and determination to maintain peace at any cost. For the first time one was glad to hear the popular "gratitude of C. R. P's role of neutrality and protecting the victims irrespective of group-politics."

2. Using of the press for misleading the people of different regions of the State and rest of India for distortion of facts, views of Sheikh and events connected with him, on the same lines as has been going on since 9th August 1953.
3. Hence the latest in the revival of post-9th August 1953 technique of misusing the State Police for group-politics and taking to individual terrorism and repression. Even the food scarcity and popular helplessness in the economic field are utilized for this purpose. It is meant to anyhow create a non-congenial atmosphere for Sheikh Saheb's reunion with national leaders—specially Nehru in the following manner:

Bakshi's Challenge

On Friday 17th January '58, in a meeting of National Conference workers at Mujahid Manzil the workers heard Bakshi Saheb repeatedly telling them that he would test the honesty of those who stand by Sheikh and call them dishonest and corrupt. He will provide for two types of Ration shops and Ration boats that go into the interior. Rations in one will be sold at Rs. 25/- per maund to which the Sheikhtes and those who stand by him will have to go for the rations. Those who support Bakshi and stood loyally with him at the time of Sheikh Saheb's release and later on will be given rations at the rate of Rs. 10/- in other shops and boats. In the rural areas and in the city the ration authorities have started delaying rations to Sheikhtes and labourers and when they complain they are tauntingly told to go to Sheikh for their rations.

Sheikhtes Made Target of Local Police Repression

Some instances are stated below :

On 17th (or 18th) January Mohammed Subhan, Zaildar, leading Sheikhtite was arrested at Tral and was handed over to C. R. P. who looked after him well. Later on he, with other

two workers namely Abdul Rehman and Ali Mohammed were taken to Awantipura Police Thana, where they were severely thrashed by the local police under the supervision of a Sub-Inspector and were threatened to be killed. The detaining police stole Subhan's watch and fountain pen. Later on they were bailed out by the Tehsildar, Pulwama.

Kulgam

The Sub-Inspector of Kulgam Thana has given standing orders to his subordinates to arrest leading Sheikhites and give them good thrashing at the Thana and then produce them before him for further action. Accordingly police went to the houses of the important Sheikhites of the area, Ghulam Qadir Nerura, Mohd. Mansoor, chairman, Tehsil Committee Plebiscite Front and Ghulam Rasool Raina, ex-M. L. A. to arrest them. They were at Srinagar. Therefore their family people were harassed, manhandled and beaten. The Sub-Inspector has order that when they return back they and another member Bakhtawar Malik, chairman Tehsil Committee, Plebiscite Front, should be severely thrashed by the police and then produced before him. Abdul Ghani with his other two colleagues have been arrested and taken from thana to thana for being humiliated and beaten up.

Goondas Being Organized

Bakshi Abdul Rashid, 'M. P.' from Kashmir and Bakshi Hamid are playing a leading role in this. They have started organising goondas and telling them that "the I. G. P. is leaving and therefore they need not worry and be afraid of anything." S. P. Ganderbali who is I. P. S. officer, yet continues to be a ring leader in leading this terrorism. He belongs to Salora village, Ganderbal. This village is a special target of his and his family members' repression and terrorisation. Specially those who go to Masjid are harassed and their chadars taken away and even women are not spared. The villagers' movements are controlled and ration difficulties face them.

Reports are coming in of persecution and all those who took a lead in giving a reception to Sheikh Saheb or those who brought the acts of goondaism to the notice of the I.G.P. and the C. R. P. and thus were responsible for checkmating an effort for a major flare up. Some of these incidents are:

At night some goondas entered the shrine of Khankahe Maulla and sounded the bell. All the people living in the neighbourhood of the shrine came out, thinking that the bell is being sounded by the head Moulvi of the shrine, and gathered in the compound. Suddenly, to their surprise and astonishment, the goondas came out and started beating, robbing, and looting the crowd.

Labourers and workers of Silk Factory and Government Woollen Mills including the workers of Shali Store, who had taken part in the reception of Sher-i-Kashmir, have been suspended or dismissed from the service.

Mr. Malik Sharefuddin, a judge of the lower court, along with some police officials is said to have rounded up important political workers and followers of Sheikh took them to the police stations, beat them and deprived them of their belongings which include money, valuable watches and even clothing and lois. Permits of all those drivers whose buses/taxies/lorries carried people to Hazaratbal on 13th January '58 have been stopped, drivers beaten and the vehicles damaged.

Bus service to Sowra was stopped on 13th, a step to prevent the public from coming to Sowra for greeting their leader.

8-1-1958

The following personnel from Police Chowki Urdu Bazar Maharajganj in mufti, are said to have entered the house of

Ali Mahammed Darzi S/o Ahad Joo Darzi to Maharajganj at 8 P. M. on 8th January 1958. He was dragged out from his house, beaten and taken to the Thana whereas his women-folk were abused and harassed. While leaving the house the police took away Kashmiri Firrin two; wrist watch one; cash Rs. eight and boot one pair.

(1) Ismail Gada S/o Ama Gada. (2) Ahmed Khan S/o Razak Khan. (3) Shambu Nath. (4) Habib Kachlu. (5) Ama Kachlu. (6) Nabir Kachlu.

11-1-1958

Pampore: Kh. Abdul Wahab, Tangawala and other ten persons were arrested by local police on Srinagar Verinag Road and were severely thrashed.

Ghulam Nabi, Tonga No. 90 resident of Habba Kadal was taking passengers to Battawar from Amirakadal. On return he was bringing two passengers Abdual Rahman Teli and Ghulam Nabi Drazi, Special Staff, under orders from Ganderbali S. P. gave him a severe beating.

At Zandapora Basant Bagh, Abdual Ahad Butt was heard to have severely been beaten by Nura Baghban, president, Halqa National Conference.

Islamabad

Three workers of the Plebiscite Front who were announcing the programme for Sheikh Saheb's reception were pulled down from their Tongas in Bejbephara and Dayalgam and were severely beaten. Many of them were kept in thanas.

Kh. Bakhtwar Malik, president, Tehsil Plebiscite Front, Kulgam and Ghani Hotelwala, Kulgam were threatened by the Tehsildar and Thanedar and were served with warrants of arrest.

In Bijbehara many workers were manhandled and kept in the Thanas. The people were terrorized and they were told not to welcome Sher-i-Kashmir.

In Islamabad arches were erected but the notorious Peace Brigade pulled them down and took away their cloth with them. Local Police and the Peace Brigade stoned Jeeps, cars and buses. Many workers were injured and the cars and trucks were damaged. Amongst the workers Shamsuddin Surhawardy and Ghulam Nabi Darzi were badly injured. Attempts were made to loot the shops of Haji Ghulam Mohammed Kochak.

Abdul Aziz Karu, Habibullah Wagge, Ghulam Nabi Wani, Gialla Hajjam and Abdul Aziz Butt were severely thrashed and kept in jail. Loundsbeakers, battery and machine were taken away.

12.1.1958

Maharaja Bazar (Srinagar) : Ghulam Qadir Khan alias Nata etc. together with the thanedar and policemen are mentioned to have severely beat Abdual Aziz resident of Karapora Abi, Rainawari, president mohalla Plebiscite Front, as a result of which he received severe injuries. This team is also said to have looted the shop of Kh. Khizar Mohammed Tanga, Fireworks maker, resident of Maharaja Bazar and took away his money. He was taken to Thana Shergadhi. Noor Mohammed Nalka S/o Khizar Mohd. Tanga was relieved of his chaddar (*loi*).

Bandipura : A meeting of the Plebiscite Front workers was called at Wattapora. Government men such as Mukhtar Ahmed, Abdul Kabir Khan together with local Magistrate, Ist Class, Naib Tehsildar and Sub-Inspector of Police are reported to have forcibly entered the house and created interruption. The workers were lathicharged. Some workers were injured. Rehman Sheikh, Plebiscite Front worker from Gazarbal received serious injuries on his arm and leg. Ladies were insulted. National Militia, Peace Brigade and local Police are spreading terror through out the area. Many workers of the Plebiscite Front have been beaten. The cap of Ahad Malik, Front workers has been snatched.

Mr Ghulam Mohammed Pahloo of Basant Bagh has been arrested for enacting an arch on 12th January '58 for the reception of Sher-i-Kashmir. He was mercilessly beaten in the police station by the police and the National Conference Halqa president, Gilkar and later on removed to judicial lock up in an unconscious state.

Hirelings of National Conference and some CRP men were seen terrorizing insulting several persons at Chatabal and snatching off their cash-belongings.

Pampore : Ten persons have been arrested. They were detained in a reading room, manhandled and at night transferred from Thana to Thana at Shopian and Awantipur. These transfers are going on. They are meant to give physical torture to break the morale of persons.

13-1-1958

Lal Chowk : Ali Mohd. Ganai, Member, Halqa Sopore Plebiscite Front had come to Srinagar in connection with reception C. R. P. severely beat him and used most obscene language.

Hakim Alimullah and his colleagues are said to have caught hold of Habib Butt, president Mujjagund Plebiscite Front at 9 P. M. at Chatabal and broke up his bicycle. Rs. 75/-were taken away from his person.

After the speech of Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah at Hazaratbal, people were returning back to Srinagar by lorries and were raising slogans of 'Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad'. At many places, specially at Alla Khan and Thana Kothi Bagh lorries were made to stop by Ghulam Qadir Ganderbali, S. P. Bashir Ahmed Eanday and a Pandit Thanedar and passengers and drivers were beaten, their licences confiscated and muchalkas taken. Damage was also caused to some vehicles. Name of drivers and a list of lorries is given below:

<i>Driver's Name</i>	<i>Lorry No.</i>	<i>Agency</i>
1. Hallaji	6009	K. M. D. J & K
2. Galla Malik	5350	Paramount J & K
3. Jagan Nath	3314	K. M. D. J & K
4. Mohammed Ramzan	1437	K. M. D. J & K
5. Mohammed Hasan	3619	United Motor
6. Habib Butt	4020	United Motor
7. Mohammed Sultan	5357	K. M. D.
8. Mohammed Abdullah	3644	United Motor
9. Ghulam Nabi	3373	Paramount
10. Jalal Din	1676	K. M. D.
11. Mohammed Yusuf	1051	K. M. D.
12. Amiruddin	1912	K. M. D.
13. Mohd. Ismail	1671	K. M. D.
14. Abdul Jabbar	750	K. M. D.
15. Mohiuddin	2923	Diamond Motors
16. Abdul Aziz	1403	K. Valley Transport
17. Ghulam Ahmed	3107	K. M. D.

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah went to Hazratbal. While returning Sheikh Saheb went to the house of late Kh. Mohammed Sikander in Rainawadi. People left for their houses via Nauhatta. They were raising the slogans of "Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad; Hamara Leader—Sher-i-Kashmir;

Hindu-Muslim Itehad Zindabad, etc." Qadir Ganderbali lathicharged them near Nauhatta as a result of which many men and women were injured. The police arrested four people.

The names of those who were arrested while playing fireworks are Abdul Rahman Butt, Ghulam Ahmed Misgar, Ghulam Nabi Misgar. They were severely beaten. Besides this, hundreds of workers and sympathisers were beaten publicly and their clothes were snatched.

Pampore : The Plebiscite Front workers were erecting gates and arches on all roads to welcome Sheikh Saheb and were raising slogans in favour of Sher-i-Kashmir. Local paid goondas and National Conference office bearers together with local police, C. R. P. and Punjab Police tried to prevent them from doing so, arrested them and thrashed. They went to their houses and used very objectionable language.

Pulwama : Many workers were arrested before the arrival of Sheikh Saheb. Following are the few names of which we have been informed:

Master Wali Malik, president Tehsil Pulwama Plebiscite Front; Mr. Abdul Rahim Ashmandar, vice-president, Tehsil Pulwama, Plebiscite Front; Ghulam Ahmed Sofi, Pampore; Mohd. Sultan Wani. The Police confiscated five bicycles and severely thrashed an aged person.

Thanedar of Chowki Nauhatta caught hold of Abdul Ghani Butt, Ghulam Ahmed Cujri and Ghulam Mohammed of the Jama Masjid Halqa and severely beat them.

Goondas entered the house of Abdul Khaliq Butt, Tangaban. He was ill. Women and children were beaten up. His house-hold goods were thrown out and utensils broken.

After Sheikh Saheb had passed through Khanyar, the Khanyar Thana police arrested Abdul Rahman Panfrosh r/o Namdagari Mohalla, shopkeeper of Nauhatta and Amma Gujri s/o Hassan Gujri r/o Khawaja Bazar, severely thrashed and sent them to Central Jail, Srinagar.

Before the impending arrival of Sheikh Saheb at Lal Chowk, the police under the command of Thanedar Abdul Rashid and CRP severely lathi-charged the crowd as a result of which many workers were injured. They were also prevented from erecting arches.

14.1.1958

Amma Kochlu thrashed Noor Mohd. Khan in Maharajganj. Mohd. Khalil Najjar was also beaten up by National Conference goondas. Ghulam Nabi Alani was severely beaten up and then locked up in Police Chowki, Maisuma.

Goondaism is being carried out in various parts of the city. Safi Makhdoomi, Maqbool Makhdoomi, Qadir Ganderbali, Amma Kochlu, Amma Darzi etc, beat the people passing through the streets.

15.1.1958

Srinagar : Salam Misgar, president, mohalla National Conference, Daribal Khanyar touched a Kangri full of fire to the neck of Ghulam Mohd. Dar s/o Razzak Dar r/o Daribal Khanyar in a mosque. There was a sign of burn at the neck.

National Conference office bearers take these people who erected arches and gates for the reception of Sheikh Saheb, to police thanas and National Conference Halqa offices where they are beaten and threatened. They are asked to tell the press that "they built the arches not at their own free will but due to pressure."

Maisuma : In connection with the erection of arches personnel of the Maisuma Police Chowki and paid agents of National Conference visit people's houses. Upto now Abdul Jabbar and Abdul Hamid, residents of Gaokadal, have been taken to police chowki and severely beaten up. The police in searching for Ali Mohd. Pehlu resident of Basant Bagh without any warrant.

Gula Bashka Panfaroosh of Khanayar was called to Mirkaloo's residence on 13th January. He was mercilessly beaten by Mirkaloo and his gang for erecting an arch for the reception of Sheikh Saheb. Later on the following day, late in the night, his shop just in front of the Dargah of Dastgir Sahib, was raided by National Conference goondas, Special Staff men and the C. R. P. All his property was looted or destroyed and he was ordered to close it up for good.

As a result of welcoming Sheikh Saheb, Rafugars and hawkers of Nowshera Mill were dismissed from the factory, and it is said that the Director of Sericulture has been transferred because of his inability to force the factory labour to demonstrate against Sheikh Saheb.

House-hold goods and a chaddar from the house of Ghulam Mohd-Darzi taken away, children were beaten and his son's arm fractured.

The shop of Mohiuddin Bund, shopkeeper Ganderbal was attacked and several articles were taken away and he was severely beaten.

Supply of petrol was stopped to K. M. D. Muchalkas were taken from many buses. They were prevented from going to Hazratbal. Drivers and passengers were severely beaten. In order to threaten the people paid goondas and special Staff members in civilian dresses were posted on the route.

Mohd. Iqbal Chaprey was arrested and later on released at a bail of Rs. 5,000/-

Khalil Najjar resident of Islamyarbal was severely beaten up.

Mohammed Sultan Guroo s/o Mohammed Ramzan Guroo of Narabal, Tehsil Badgam was arrested by the Narabal Police, beaten and robbed of his personal belongings, and brought down to Badgam Munsiff for remand with handcuffs on. When produced before the Magistrate at Badgam, the

police could not satisfy the court as regards the "offence" and hence he was released.

Good will Workers—New Target

Since 8th January 1958 persons working for mutual understanding between the people of J and K State and the rest of India are being made special targets of victimization by the authorities and the ruling party in the J and K State.

Hostility Intensified

The news of Pir Maqbool Gilani and Mridulajis' permits again having been held up in Delhi has created a bad effect on those who have faith in them. They feel that "this could not be without the agreement of Union authorities". Hence it leads to extending of resentment from the State authorities to the Union authorities. If they had freedom to move about in the State today, there is no doubt regarding their effectiveness in cooling down the attitude of bitterness and result of administrative chaos and fresh wave of repression.

Extending Inhuman Treatment to Sheikhite Detenues

Since Sheikh Saheb's release the authorities stiffened their attitude towards political detenues, specially the Sheikhites. Many of them are suffering in health and the visiting jail doctors have strongly advised the transfer of some of the detenues to the hospital for treatment.

Mirja Mohammed Afzal Beg, leader of the Opposition in the last Assembly ex-Revenue Minister and the president of Plebiscite Front, now detained in Central Jail Jammu is a patient of pylitis. It is said that he recently suffered from eye trouble and his old disease also got inflamed; yet he did not get full treatment, as was advised by the visiting doctor.

Ghulam Mohammed Shah, ex-Controller Civil Supplies and son-in-law of Sheikh Saheb is detained in Srinagar Central Jail. He developed Beri-Beri during his detention since 9th August 1953. Recently his health has deteriorated. Doctors

strongly advised hospitalization which has not been sanctioned by the authorities. Since last month the family does not get interviews , according to the normal rules. They have now been informed that for the interview, they will have to get the "Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's permission."

Munshi Ishaq, a merchant of standing and Hakim Habibullah Vakil have been suffering from stomach trouble while Kh. Mubarak Shah, ex-Deputy Finance Minister is reported to be ailing from some heart trouble.

Continued Goondaism in Kashmir Valley

Since Sheikh Saheb's release a well planned campaign to embitter the staunch Sheikhtes is going on. Those who have deep faith in the possibility of Nehru-Sheikh meeting and in a national interest finding a way out that would be to the satisfaction of all concerned, have been made the special targets of repression. The Sheikhtes in the rural areas are terrorized and victimized.

In the first week of February Bakshi Abdul Rashid went to Handwara to attend a meeting. Lack of audience enraged him and they decided to make Mohammed Maqbool Yalgami, ex-M. L. A. a scapegoat of their wrath. With the aid of the local police they planned to involve Pir Yalgami in a theft case and thus next morning he found himself in trouble.

On 16th February when people were returning from Hazratbal after attending Miraj congregation a number of them were severely attacked by National Conference personnel led by Saifuddin Makhdoomi and were beaten and harassed.

All this clearly reveals as to how undemocratically the State administration functions, and also how the people of the State are of debarred their fundamental rights and civil liberties within the boundaries of the great Indian Republic.

V

WHAT HAPPENED AT HAZARTBAL AND AFTER

Repression, arrests, beatings, looting, robbery, thefts, molestation and victimization etc., nothing could break through the impregnable fortress of peace built by the voluntary will of the people of Kashmir and watched and protected by their love and regard for their leader Sheikh Abdullah. People wanted to help him tide over any difficulties he may encounter in maintaining an ideal situation of law and order throughout the valley. Conspirators from amongst the ruling party having, so far, being miserably failed in their infernal cold war-bombs of disruption got enraged and infuriated. In desperation they adopted a more unscrupulous line of action for hitting hard and below the waist.

Other Side of the Story

20th February 1958 morning newspapers stunned the nation with the news of Maulana Saheb's serious illness from 19th morning. While the country was engaged in prayers little did any one realize that there was a section in the J and K State ruling party who would be knavish enough to utilize this period of gloom and stress for their ulterior plans. That such an occasion could be exploited for shock tactic approach against the opposition and people at large would cause the readers also great regret. It was during those days that it was reliably learnt :

"In a recent secret meeting of the National Conference office bearers, held at Srinagar, it was decided to create violent scenes in Sheikh Saheb's meetings. Workers were told that "officials and the police will fully cooperate." Therefore they could even resort to violent attacks, arson and loot in such a way as would give cause to the police to fire some shots and thus create a critical situation which could be attributed to Sheikh Saheb, his followers and Plebiscite Front workers and justify the State authorities resorting to repressive steps under the pretext of breach of law and order.

This was to be enacted on 14-2-58 Friday when Sheikh Saheb had his prayers at Jama Masjid. But the crowd and the fear of Union authorities finding out the truth kept them back. Later on it was further learnt that "in the event of their success, full use of propaganda machinery will be made to flash their version of the event to prejudice the public opinion against Sheikh Sabeb."

By Thursday the gravity of Maulana Saheb's illness was known to the country. This appears to be taken as a golden opportunity in implement the above plan.

"The national leaders and the Union Government would be engrossed in anxiety and therefore not in a mood to weigh the consequences of event" appears to be the misguided calculation of the planners of the following event. They timed it well. On Tuesday night news had been received that they had decided to implement their plan and use the occasion of the National Conference workers' weekly meeting, usually held at Mujahid Manjil but this time meeting at Rajbagh, adjoining Hazratbal. This was to coincide with the prayer meeting that Sheikh Saheb was to address and which had been publicized long ago.

With this background, therefore, it was a bygone conclusion that if this was not exposed in time and precautions not taken distorted publicity would be given to the event that may take place according to National Conference plan. However due to the critical condition of Maulana Azad Saheb's health it had to be delayed.

21st February 1958 at Hazratbal and 24th February at Maharajganj

Following Friday (the 21st February 1958) to Meraj-e-Sharif, there was a big prayer gathering at Hazratbal. About two lakh or more had gathered for prayers and to hear Sher-i-Kashmir. In his prayer speech he also paid tributes to Maulana Azad Saheb and called upon the congregation to join him in prayers for his early recovery.

The much publicized Hazratbal incident took place after Sheikh Saheb left Hazratbal at 4 in the afternoon. While leaving the place Maulana Masoodi, ex-M. P. together with some other workers came to know of the incident and therefore they returned back and made on-the-spot enquiries.

Maulana Masoodi in his letter dated February 26, writing on Hazratbal and 24th February incidents states:

"(A) The reality of the incident on 21st February 1958, at Hazratbal, described as "riot", disturbance', 'clash' and other awe-inspiring words, is that :

- "1. National Conference workers at a meeting convened on the previous day had decided to create some disturbances at Hazratbal on the following day *i. e.*, 21st February 1958. Most of them had opposed this proposal but the riotous elements was determined to create some scene at any cost.
- "2. On the 21st February, on the one hand, nearly 2,50,000 people were seen coming to participate in Hazratbal Miraj Congregation and to hear Sheikh Saheb. On foot or on all types of vehicles or in boats from all sides whether it were land routes or waterways : on the other hand, some top-ranking National Conference workers in a bus and two jeeps were found plying their vehicles from one place to another raising slogans against person of Sheikh Saheb simply with a view to instigating the people somewhere to be provoked and assault them so that their nefarious designs were fulfilled. But the people did not oblige them.
- "3. Sheikh Saheb commenced his speech exactly at 12 noon. 60 loud-speaker units were working but congregation had swelled so much that numerous persons had to remain without

hearing. National Conference men on this occasion tried to create mischief in some corners but they failed as people were determined to remain peaceful. Speech concluded peacefully at 2-15 P. M.

- "4. Then after Namaz, Ziarat and Darood Khani etc. people dispersed. Peaceful dispersal continued on all four sides and most of them had left by 4 P. M.
- "5. At 4 P. M. Namaz-i-Asar took place after which Sheikh Saheb also returned to his house.
- "6. At about 5 P. M. National Conference men set up loud-speakers near Raj Bagh and began to use foul language. Nobody was there except those very persons who were doing it. They had also set up some tents where lethal weapons had been kept. Some persons who were roaming about in the Bagh, on hearing loud speaker voice assembly there, and when they heard abuses, they raised counter slogans of Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad. Upon this National Conference workers took out lethal weapons from the tents and assaulted the gathering people and also pelted stones on all four sides resulting in a small clash. All this ended in eight or ten minutes because the National Conference men wanted to stage a riot for the sake of riot. When this was done, they hastened to flee away. Police took charge of two or three persons who had received injuries.
- "7. Later on, the police began to move about. They also entered the Dargah. Instigated by police, the National Conference workers and peace Brigade men gave beating to Plebiscite Front workers and other people who were leading

helping hand to people near Dargah, half a mile away from the scene of incident. They also caused arrest of several pedestrian. Kh. Ali Mohammed Butt and Kh. Ghulam Qadir, ex- M. P. were caught hold of and beaten near bus-stand at 8 P. M. Kh. Ghulam Qadir was later on arrested.

- "8. No arrests were made on the following day. For two days *i. e.* on February 22nd and 23rd meetings, discussion and preparation of "lists" continued. Campaign of arrests started on 23rd evening which was intensified on 24th and 25th February and in continuing even today, (the 26th.) God alone knows how long it will go on.
- "9. Almost all leading workers have been arrested. Cases have been registered against all of them on criminal charges and they have been confined various police stations and dirty places irrespective of any consideration in regard to one's physical condition, illness, old age or any other matter.
- "10. On the 24th February in Ali Kadal, adjoining Maharajganj (Srinagar) Halqa president of the National Conference Ghulam Ahmed Lone alias Amma Kachlu and a few others visited the Bazar near Ali Kadal and assaulted the shop-keepers. The raid was meant to stage a riot so that firing might take place. But riot could not develop. However, nine washermen were got arrested by him, although none amongst them have been of a political mind. One amongst the injured in this clash, succumbed to injuries this morning. He was ill for two days, and became speechless at the time of assault.

"11. Arrests are continuing, total number reached 60 (as on 25th night) till now. They include all leading citizens from Baramulla to Islamabad. They also include all our lawyers except Amin Saheb, who confined to bed.

- "(B) This in brief, is the situation. Why is it being distorted? It would not be difficult to understand. These people had created an explosive atmosphere in the country after Sheikh Saheb's release. With the easing of the tension, they now feel apprehensive about people of India gathering the impression that Kashmiris are with Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah alone. If the walls of separation between central leadership and Sheikh Saheb are demolished and opportunity is made available for direct talks between Panditji, others and Sheikh Saheb, they feel that their party which claims to be "sole contractor of loyalty for India" and is thus enjoying itself of all the fruits of Government contracts, will be exposed. If situation improves, what will happen to their interest? Apprehensive of this, they on the 21st February 1958 created trouble with a view to confusing the atmosphere again so that Panditji and Sheikh Saheb do not meet, nor do they understand each others viewpoint, thus no settlement is made possible and their pleasure knows no end.
- "(C) But people who are determined to face all difficulties at all costs need not give up their efforts, all of you—and I am one of you, are duty bound at present, place the truth before the world. Our voice howso ever feeble must be raised. We shall strive to remove the mountains raised between the real leader of the State and the leaders of India."

Ex-M. P. Subjected to Torture

On 21st February '58 Kh. Ghulam Qadir, ex-M. P. and

Kh. Ali Mohammed, were at Hazratbal till 8 P. M., helping the stranded pilgrims to return back home. At about 8 P. M. they went to the bus-stand where S. P. Ganderbali (I. P. S.) happened to see them. He fell upon them and got them severely beaten. In the darkness of the night Ali Mohammed was able to get away while Ghulam Qadir Saheb was dragged to a dark corner and severely beaten to such an extent that he became unconscious. This resulted in the police taking him to the torture chamber—Kothi Bagh Thana—and later on they detained him the charge of "exciting the crowds", etc.

It is said that though he is badly injured but the police and authorities did not accept the proposal to get him examined by any other doctor.

Investigation Myth

Under the cover of investigation and bringing to book the "culprits of Hazratbal incident" of 21st February 1958, the methods adopted by the police, the arrests that have taken place, the renewal of National Conference and Peace Brigade goondaism on any and every one, the prejudicial and false officially-sponsored campaign of events, all these have confirmed the information of "everything working out according to the secret plan of the National Conference". It confirms that Union officer in the State are either a party to it or are not strong enough to place the real fact before the Union authorities.

It was hoped that I. G. P. from another State of India would at least put this right but it is now proved that he is utterly helpless, in improving the police administration and its impartial functioning. To sabotage other proofs, telegrams and other things are held back in censor. The press is gagged and forced to report only official version. Otherwise they are to meet the same fate as that of "Sach," on 10th February with the detention of its Editor.

Those who are real victims of these attacks at the hands of the National Conference or the police, their complaints are

not entertained in the police thanas and the National Conference, complaints' reports are made the 'first information reports' to enable the police to take action against their opponents. Thus when any impartial investigation does take place there will be no documentary evidence of the real complainants to prove their case.

The system of quashing all evidence is so well developed that even the injured victims at the hands of National Conference and police do not get impartial medical treatment at dispensaries and hospitals. The names of those who come for treatment are not registered in their records and then again no record is maintained of the inflicted injuries as is required for police investigation. In case the patients insist on it, then wrong report is given which would make it a non-cognizable case and would not get the inflictor of injuries involved in a criminal assault case.

In round ups and arrests, doctors and lawyers (even those who do not belong to the party but professionally associated with the arrested ones) are taken in. Not being politicians and agitators they get unnerved at humiliation and third-degree tortures inflicted in their presence on others. It not only unnerves them but others also get frightened leading to depriving the opposition of private treatment by doctors and legal aid by lawyers. Atmosphere of mortal fear shadows everyone.

Besides this the S. P. Ganderbali with the help of smugglers and Pak agents is busy fabricating 'documents' to rope in the Sheikholes under serious charges of conspiracies and treason etc. To get this substantiated the authorities arrest leading Sheikholes and torture them until they break down to become approvers. If this does not happen then all relatives are subjected to persecution. Beg family's trial are well known. Then came Pir Abdul Ghani's turn. On 11-12-57 he was arrested and since then he is in the Interrogation Centre, subjected to terrible trials. A *Habeas Corpus* case has been filed in the High Court and is going on. Meanwhile it became known that the investigating authorities wanted to extract

from him a statement to substantiate their new case of conspiracy that they want to build up. They promised to make him an approver ! He did not oblige them. How was he to do so when all has been a strong resister of two-nation theorists and has been fighting the opportunist politicians in the State. So to frighten him and his relatives they took into custody his father, brother-in-law, all adult members and released them later on. Yet they did not succeed in breaking Pir Abdul Ghani of Anantnag.

The "Time of India" 27th February 1958 published the following news which created a feeling that Shri Sahai will contact the complaining parties and find out the truth but he has not done so till now:

"New Delhi, February 26: Mr. Vishnu Sahai, Secretary Kashmir Affairs, is on a visit to Jammu and Kashmir State to study the latest law and order situation there.

"On his return to New Delhi, Mr. Sahai is expected to report to the Union Ministry on the recent incidents near Hazratbal in which a National Conference workers lost his life."

Efforts have been made by victims and complainants to contact Shri Vishnu Sahai at his usual residence, Guest House No. 1, but in vain. They have been told that he has not been to Srinagar; nobody knows anything about it, nor has anybody contradicted the press news. Therefore it goes without saying that if he does not publicly invite cooperation of the people in his mission, then real facts will not be known to the Union authorities, nor will they be able to come to any conclusions.

One regrets the limited scope of his alleged assignment, giving an impression that he is only going there to enquire into the cause that led to a national Conference worker losing his life. As a representative of the Union Government one expects him to enquire into the whole incident and investigate the cases of all those injured and killed. If this does not take

place, people's estrangement will increase, is a bygone conclusion.

Searches

The arrests are often followed by the searches of victims' houses, manhandling of their family members and in some cases ransacking of the valuables. Occasional it also precedes the arrest. e. g.

On 25th February 1958, Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Chikkan's (ex-Director of Food Control) house was searched in his absence. As at that time Chikkan Saheb, since two days, was out of station at his orchard (some thirty miles from his home) he came in just when the search was over.

In the absence of ex-Registrar, Kashmir University, Mr. G. A. Ashai, his house was searched. The police took away Mridulaji's circulars and an old sword souvenir that had been in the family since generations. Similarly some other old souvenir arms were also taken away. Ashai Saheb returned home after the search was over.

On the 28th February the Pulwama Plebiscite Front office was searched and everything was taken away by the police. People who gathered there were lathi-charged amongst whom Abdul Rehman and Abdul Ahad were badly injured.

On 1st March the Central Office of the Plebiscite Front in Srinagar was raided, searched and two workers were arrested.

Arrests

There are various types of arrests made in the J and K State especially in the valley. All the arrests are not recorded. Those recorded are kept on a lower side while the arrests which are not to be recorded enable the local authorities to misinform the Union Authorities so as to keep them ignorant of the real number and thus make them believe that the popular version of arrests is "exaggerated".

Illegal Arrests

Since 21st February 1958 the number of illegal arrests and those kept in various thanas and National Conference offices in the valley runs into hundreds. The victims are not registered nor any record maintained by the police to enable the higher authorities to check up the facts. This technique is responsible for the official denial of any such events taking place.

When the victim is sent for interrogation he is not allowed to inform his waiting family or any one, of his fate. In the Thana he is abused in the name of India, severely beaten and manhandled and tortured for some days, sometimes even for weeks. It is said that whenever he is released he is warned that if he would open his lips about the complaints dire consequences will follow.

Official Arrests

Arrests of Sheikhites are going on unabated and it seems that those arrests are taking country-side turn.

It is obvious that these arrests have no connection with the alleged Hazratbal incident—because those who have been arrested are mostly from rural areas and were miles away from the scene of occurrence on the 21st February to 7th March 1958.

Life in 'Havalats' (lock-ups)

All the arrested persons are kept in police thanas without any amenities and even protection against the cold-weather. Lock-ups are small and meant for two or three undertrials but now house three or four times more arrested persons. Often no sleeping or stretching place is available. The unhygienic environment and living conditions have already made many ill. Some of them have been in more or less continuous detention since 9th August 1953 and have developed serious ailments which call for constant medical

treatment and special diet. This is also denied. The usual diet allowance for 24 hours is annas ten. In this also, much is misappropriated in purchasing through the police authorities agency. For chronic patients this amount is not enough, nor are they allowed to get food from their homes. The status of a number of them is such that in other States they would have been given special class but here they are not being treated as political but as ordinary undertrials.

In Khanyar thana lock-up Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Chikkan, ex-Director Food Control and a heart-Patient is detained. He and his colleagues are handcuffed and accompanied by a police constable when they go to attend the nature's call. Thus they are deprived of the necessary privacy. Maulana Masoodi, ex-M. P. in his letter dated 4th March while giving a clear picture of the treatment meted out in thanas stated that:

"The vengeance that is being wreaked on the arrested persons in the lock-ups even surpasses the experience of the past five years. Inform India that in Srinagar police lockups the colleagues of Panditji and ex-Members of Parliament are being given only ten annas for 24 hours and they have to huddle like chattel in small barracks and are subjected to country-made wick lamps which let out lot of smoke. If the doors are open then biting cold comes in and if they are closed the atmosphere become suffocating and if the lamps are put out then they have to spend their time in darkness."

Executive Interference in Judiciary

The legal remedy to secure relief is also not possible is illustrated by the following:

- (a) Bail petitions of most of the arrested are not being entertained even though legally it is permissible. Instead the police is taking the maximum benefit of

the powers they have in seeking remand after remand.

- (b) A few days ago the Chief Justice of the State High Court paid a visit to Srinagar. Khawaja Mohammed Amin and Shri Vaishnavi, advocates, brought to his notice the behaviour of magistrates and how their decisions were subjected to the whims of the ruling party and how decisions were given after consulting the authorities on telephone. The Chief Justice promised to look into the matter. Yet no improvement is marked. Kh. Mohammed Amin and Shri Vaishnavi have written to the Chief Justice of India, drawing his attention to all this.

Changing Mood

Under the pretext of Hazratbal incident, continued indiscriminatory arrests of popular respected workers and citizens, charging them with most dangerous criminal offences such as murder, assault, loot and arson, are changing the mood of the people. On the lips of old and young, men and women including children, one now freely hears that if their respected leaders and others are going to be accused of such criminal charges, then they will also feel honoured by being condemned in the same way.

Friday prayers and post-prayer meeting on the 28th February went off without any unfortunate event. This raised hopes in the people of a welcome change but it was to be short-lived. Soon after, fresh onslaught of the people by the police, Peace Brigade and National Conference bosses increased.

Beware of the Motive Behind this

Lastly while the Sheikhtes and people at large are left aghast as to why this treatment is meted to them, the anti-national and two-nation theorists are jubilant. They feel

confident that what they could not achieve for the last five years, they will do so now. They think this will result in :

Complete hostility with the rest of India and expedite their desire to prove to the world that their two-nation theory was justifiable. The manner in which the nation paid homage to Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and in general elections gave a slashing defeat to the communalists, leaves no doubt that it would be unfair to blame the people of India for all this but can anyone avoid expressing strong resentment at the complete refusal of nation-builders and moulders of public opinion to realize the deep conspiracy and respond to the popular call. To stop this policy let every one be warned that the ruling party in Kashmir is out to create conditions worse than 9th August 1953, and if at present no one stops this the results would be disastrous !

Is it law and order or vengeance and blackmailing?

On about Ist March, in the name of Bakshi Rashid who was at that time in Delhi, members of ruling party jubilantly circulated the story that :

- “(a) Their porpaganda on Hazratbal incident has succeeded and therefore vengeance can now be wreaked by even mortally attacking prominent members of the Sheikh group. The next Friday (7th March) Prayer gathering provides a good opportunity for this. By this time majority of the prominent Sheikhs will be in detention and Sheikh will have to depend on the ‘new elements’, amongst whom efforts should be made to get agent-provocateurs infiltrated to create trouble from within.
- “(b) It was also known that some senior officers of the Union Government and the State Government who had played an important role in the creation of a vicious atmosphere prior to 9th August 1953, had met and decided to revive the old conspiracy in the following stages:

- "1. Under any pretext to effect general round up of important Sheikhites (on 21st February through Hazratbal incident, this was achieved.)
- "2. Imposition of section 50 Defence Rules in whole of the valley which would completely curb the activities of Sheikh Saheb and force him to take to law-breaking programme, resulting in the rearrest. Thus without offending world opinion, achieving his removal from the scene for three years.
- "3. Let loose such terrible repression on those who have dared to follow Sheikh Abdullah that they dare not raise their heads again.

"On 4th March mohalla residents of Maharajganj, Safakadal and Habakadal reported that "National Conference Halqa Committees" bosses, backed by Saifuddin Makhdoomi and Bakshi Hamid and others, are collecting lethal weapons, lathis and stones in their Halqa Offices etc. This is being done in the vicinity of Police Unit Centres in these areas. It is said that they expect Sheikh Saheb's arrest very soon and naturally this might lead to popular demonstrtion. At that time the National Conference workers will fall on the people with these weapons; and stone them. Situation similar to Hazratbal incident of 21st February 1958 will be created and they will again get the blame put on the Sheikhites. In case the arrest is not likely to take place in the near future, then they will take to other pretexts". Authorities had been alerted.

Sheikh Abdullah's Programme from 26th February to 6th March 1958

The object of Sheikh Saheb's programme of visiting the families of the victims and detained persons, in Maulana Masoodi's own words was "seeing that the opponents want to destroy peace and political opposition and are involving them in criminal cases. Sheikh Saheb has started direct contact

with the people. He is visiting mohallas and suburbs. He desires to personally convey his message to everyone".

On 2nd March Sheikh Saib visited Habakadal, Chinkral Mohalla and Ganpatyar, and addressed the people in large numbers.

On 3rd March Sheik Saheb visited Nauhatta, Rai Tain, Khanyar, Koolipora, Napura, Dalgate, Maisuma, Karan Nagar and Bat Malu and addressed seven meetings.

On 4th March Sheik Saheb visited the families of arrested colleagues and also went to some areas on the outskirts of Srinagar city. In Rainawari he addressed about 25,000 people.

Section 50 Imposed

7th March being Friday. Sheikh Saheb addressed post-prayer meeting at Khanqahie Moulla. Soon after Section 50 was promulgated in the city of Srinagar and on 8th March in Anantnag and Baramulla districts also. Thus whole of the valley has been covered by this 'emergency' and arbitrary order.

Since 7th March night the city of Srinagar has been more or less handed over to the Central Reserve Police. At every corner of streets the Central Reserve Police, Militia and Police are posted and are patrolling the area and wireless vans are patrolling the streets in Amirakadal, giving an impression of emergency of crisis. As far as the people are concerned they are going about calmly as usual and are unperturbed, ignoring this show of might.

Reactions

A press correspondent who is going round collecting reactions of the people has stated that:

"According to circles close to Sheikh Mahammed Abdullah every effort will continue to be made not to defy

laws including one imposing ban on public meetings and processions throughout the Valley since last evening.

"They say that Sheikh Saheb's aim is to achieve peaceful finalisation of the Kashmir question and law-breaking comes in the picture no where. Everybody knows that the situation in Kashmir has been normal and peaceful since the release of Sheikh Saheb. His speeches during all this period, particularly on the 26th road-side public addresses in the city and its suburbs last week, have received widest appreciation for emphasis made on imperative need to maintain law and order. Everybody is fully aware that 21st February incident near Hazratbal had been provoked by ruling men themselves according to a pre-meditated scheme.

"The ban is obviously intended to suppress peaceful and legitimate normal political activities. It explodes myth that Sheikh is permitted to express his views before the people.

"It is significant that the ban was imposed immediately after the happy conclusion of one of the most largely attended public meetings addressed by Sheikh Saheb. The unprecedented calm and peaceful behaviour of the people was to be seen to be believed, inspite of worst provocation on the part of the police to harass the people and discourage them in every possible way to participate in it."

With the promulgation of the section 50 and through arrests, false propaganda and harassment in police lock-ups etc. the authorities have let loose a fresh wave of repression. The details are:

Defence and Relief Committee Members Victims

Srinagar : On the night of 8th and 9th March, the following were arrested:

1. Kh. Ali Saheb, ex-Commissioner and Chairman of the Defence and Relief Committee.

2. Shri Raghunath Vaishnavi, a leading lawyer and one of the Secretaries of Defence and Relief Committee.
3. Kh. Sadruddin Mujahid, Editor "Khalid-e-Jadid", journalist and a member of the Defence and Relief Committee.
4. Kh. Ghulam Mohd. Ashai, ex-Registar, Kashmir University.) Advisers to) Defence and
5. Kh. Mohd. Abdullah Lone, a leading merchant.) Relief
6. Kh. Habibullah Zargar, a leading merchant.) Committee.

Kh. Sadruddin Mujahid being ill and heart-patient, has been kept in Srinagar while others have been taken away to Reasi. Due to repeated detentions since 9th August 1953, most of them are physical wrecks and earlier were released on medical grounds.

The total number of lawyers arrested so far in nine. They are :

1. Kh. Ghulam Mohiuddin Hamdani
2. Kh. Ali Mahammed Naik
3. Mirza Yaqub Beg.
4. Kh. Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah
5. Khan Abdul Hamid (Shopian)
6. Pt. Raghunath Vaishnavi
7. Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Chikkan
8. Kh. Haibullah Alai
9. Kh. Ghulam Rasool Kochak

Challans and Remands

From amongst the arrested persons in connection with the Hazratbal incident on the 6th March 1958, the police has incompletely challaned 71 persons under Sections 302 (murder), 148 and 149 (riot), 332 (damaging the property) and 452 (trespassing). These are non-bailable offences. The police appears to be fully exploiting it in favour of their ruling masters and are adopting delaying tactics by moving for remand after remand.

Living Conditions of Under-trials and Detenues

According to the rules after 15 days in police thanas, those arrested have to be transferred to the judicial custody. This was done only after 13th March 1958 and now they are being kept in the following jails:

Srinagar

- (a) *Central Jail*—The special barracks, once used for non-political and guarded by C. R. P.
Kh. Ghulam Qadir, ex-M. P. is given solitary confinement at the Central Jail, Srinagar.
Kh. Sadruddin Mujahid, Journalist, who is a heart-cum-asthma patient and had an attack at the time of arrest, has been given C class and detained in the Central Jail, Srinagar.
- (b) *Civil Hospital*—It is said that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Butt, ex-Secretary, Red Cross, Haji Saboor Wangnoo and Abdul Khaliq of Sopore were detained and kept in the Civil Hospital. On medical grounds the doctors has recommended their release on bail.
- (c) *Interrogation Centre*—On 25th March, Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Chikkan, ex-Director, Food Control and Vakil was arrested under the pretext of Hazratbal

incident and challaned. After 15 days they also detained him and have isolated him in the Interrogation Centre.

Master Roshanlal Transferred

On 10th February, Master Roshanlal, Editor "Sach", was the first victim of this. He was detained at Reasi and now he has been transferred to Kathua sub-Jail, second worst place in Janmu.

Tampering with Legal Redress

Shri H. N. Mishra, a Barrister from Lucknow, paid a visit to Srinagar and interviewed the under trial victims, in the Jail and found some of them injured due to the tortures in the police thanas. On the pretext that Kh. Ghulam Mohammed Chikkan, ex-Director, Food Control is also a detenu, delaying tactics were adopted in not allowing Shri Mishra to interview him as his lawyer.

The remaining persons have been challaned under Section 107, a bailable offence. Efforts to get them bailed out have failed due to purposeful obstructive and delaying tactics being adopted by the police and as well as the Magistrate.

Make Belief "Movement of Definance"

Seeing that promulgation of section 50, arrests cruel treatment to his nearest colleagues have also not succeeded in provoking Sheikh Abdullah to pay to their tune—the ruling party and the authorities appear to have now fallen a prey to self created fantasy and are haunted by the same. The following events exhibit this:

According to the press Maulana Mohammed Saeed Masoodi, ex-M. P. was detained for "subversive activities against the State." The truth is:

Since the release of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Maulana Mohammed Saeed Masoodi, Ex-M. P. has been

staying at Sheikh Saheb's residence and was working for creating congenial atmosphere.

On 12th March morning the police gathered in great force at Sowra, outside Sheikh Saheb's house and were harassing the people and telling them that they were there to arrest Maulana Saheb. Therefore, at about noon Maulana Saheb telephoned to the Inspector General of Police and offered to report to the Thana, if wanted. He got a non-committal reply. At 4 p. m. Sub-Inspector Wali Shah came to arrest him. Maulana Saheb walked out of Sheikh Saheb's compound and courted arrest. He has been detained under the Preventive Detention Act and, according to the warrant, sent to Reasi sub-jail.

Narrow Interpretation of Section 50

Soon after the promulgation of Section 50 on 7th March it was known that Sheikh Abdullah and the Sheikhs will avoid defying this ban on meetings and processions.

Therefore even if Sheikh Saheb goes to Hazratbal on 14th March for Juma prayers he would not address the congregation—was known to all.

March 14, 1958

It is not yet known why this date haunted the authorities. Elaborate preparations were made and through Police "Bando-bast" show of might was staged.

The ruling party had also prepared themselves for a show-down in the event of getting a chance to stage a demonstration similar to that of 21st February now known as Hazratbal incident.

Some of the press correspondents were warned to stand by and flash out the "biggest event of the week" !

In this background, early on Friday morning in the I. G. P's name, it was made known that it Sheikh Saheb goes to

Hazratbal for prayers and even if he does not speak a single word or does not address the congregation, yet in case any one shouts Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad," the authorities will consider it as a meeting and would arrest Sheikh Saheb for breach of Section 50 !

Sheikh Saheb's attending the Juma Prayers in his village Masjid came as a terrible disappointment to those who wanted to create trouble. No cognizance of this event would have been taken but for the fact that the I. G. P. is an Indian Officer with wide experience and that he should allow his name to be used in such narrow interpretation of breach of Section 50—has surprised all.

The popular vigilance succeeded in not giving them any opportunity on that day. This should have made the authorities care free. Instead how the authorities continue to create provocative atmosphere by their own actions is stated below :

March 19, 1958

In the evening some children between the ages 5 and 10 years were playing football at the Ram Munshi Bagh. At about 7 p. m. they dispersed and were going back to their homes. While passing by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's newly-purchased bungalow, one of them shouted "Sher-i-kashmir Zindabad" which was responded to by a few others. Hearing this the Police that was stationed near Bakshi Saheb's house which also included Central Reserve Police , lathi-charged them and three or four of them were injured and about three of them were taken into custody. The name of one of them is Ghulam Qadir Khan. They were all released late in the evening of 20th March.

In recent years there have been innumerable instances of broad-minded approach to such sloganisation in other States of India. No one is punished for either shouting "Zindabad" to national leaders or even staging demonstrations

and shouting "Murdabad" or in their presence shouting "Zindabad" for any opposition leader but in the J and K State it is not so, is proved from the above incident. Instead it is clear that there is a section in the ruling party which wants to create trouble by harassing and persecuting the children, little realizing that by this they will also be undermining their own interest.

March 20, 1958

Since 4 p. m. indiscriminate arrests without warrants have been revived. The following persons were taken away without warrants from their homes and shops to police thanas and have been detained since then:

1. Mustafa Jan, Barbar Shah.
2. Ghulam Mohd. Butt, Rainawari.
3. Ghulam Mohd. Khan, Rainawari.
4. Ghulam Hussain Gurmani, Khanyar.
5. Mohd. Amin Gorkhoo, Maharajganj.
6. Ghulam Mohd. Compounder, Maharajganj.
7. Ghulam Rasool Shakhsaz, Khanyar.
8. Ghulam Ahmed Masgar.
9. Ghulam Ahmed Halwai, Khanqah Moulla.
10. Ghulam Mohammed Soofi, Chinkral Mohalla.
11. Ghulam Qadir Gujri, Chinkral Mohalla.
12. Ghulam Hassan Najjar, Safakadal.
13. Ghulam Ahmed Shah, Khanqah Moulla.
14. Peer Abdul Ghani, Lolab Valley.

March 21, 1958

Haji Mohammed Subhan, leading Transport Merchant.

It is said that they have been arrested to built up false story of "defiance of the ban". Some have been likewise charge sheeted!

All this is a clear proof that the imposition of Section 50 is not only against meeting and processions but is intended to crush the normal socio-religious activities of any one whom the ruling party might consider as opponent and pretext to impose severe repression.

Collection of funds for Legal Defence and Relief—an Offence

On 15th March at Amirkadal some drivers of he Lorry Drivers' Association were arrested without warrants and they were told that this was being done as they were collecting contributions for Legal Defence and Relief Committee of Sheikh Abdullah. Some of their names are:

1. Ghulam Mohammed Shala.
2. Ghulam Nabi Mulki.
3. Abdul Rahman.
4. Mr. Hazari.
5. Qalamdin.

Further punitive action taken against them is in the form of cancelling the Postal Mail delivering contract of this Association. Postal Department being under Union Government, it is learnt that the Association has appealed to the concerned Union Authorities. Then again the routes on which the buses of the members of this Association used to ply *i.e.* Baramulla-Tangmarg route, have been replaced by the State Transport-Passenger Buses.

Beaten and Detained

Amir Pir of Naalbandpura and Mohiuddin, embroidery craftsman of Safakadal, were taken from their house to Bakshi Hamid's residence at Safakadal. There they also found

Magistrate Sharif Malik, Bakshi Hamid and Malik both charged them for helping in the collection of money for Relief Fund started by Sheikh Saheb. They then fell on them and beat them to such an extent that one of them started bleeding from the nose. Later on they were sent to thana and detained there.

Punished for Association with Sheikh Abdullah

Kh. Sadiq Ali, a B. A. student, whose exams are going to start on 31st March has also been arrested from Rainawari. He was told that his offence is that he used to go to Sheikh Saheb and photograph him. Later on he was released with injuries due to the severe beating in the police thanas.

Mr. Bashir son of Mr. Nizamuddin, M. L. A. went to see Sheikh Saheb in a taxi. On his return at Amirakadal the taxi was attacked by the Peace Brigade and was badly damaged. They took away the battery, seats and the meter.

Events

Besides the above examples of how the Authorities and the ruling party are creating provocative incidents, the following is one more event.

A 'mela' was held at Dadesarab, near Tral. The police, Central Reserve Police and Militia went there and harassed the food vendors etc., and compelled them to leave the place. It is regretted that in the goondaism of Police and Militia now the Central Reserve Police is also being associated.

Arrests

The above developments leave no doubt that after the promulgation of Section 50, the nature of arrests have taken a different phase and persons are being arrested under (a) Preventive Detention Act; (b) National Conference office bearers falsely reporting against their opponents to the Police and thus getting them arrested even for a few hours if not

more; (c) to provoke Sheikh Saheb and isolate him completely, they get hold of any one suspected to be helping him or working for the collection of funds for the Legal Defence and Relief committee.

On 7th and 8th March more than 40 fresh arrests were reported from all over the Valley.

Brutal Treatment in Thanas

Treatment in Thanas continues to be brutal and inhuman. For example at Kulgam—since 8th March, Ghulam Rasool Raina, ex- M. L. A., Ghulam Mohammed Waza, Ali Mohammed Lone, Abdul Ghani Ganai, Abdul Ghani Khan, Haji Musa Khan are detained in the Kulgam police thana lock-up. The cell is a very dingy place. They are not allowed to go out for nature's call. They were taken into detention without any warrant. They are being manhandled and beaten in the thana. Ghulam Rasool Raina is an ex-M. L. A. and very popular in the area.

Obstructions Continue in Securing Bail

Those arrested for bailable offences and detained in thanas and Central Jail, Srinagar, have not yet been released. Delaying tactics have been adopted by magistrates and the police.

"Sheikh's Arrest Must Be Effected"

Since 20th March, 1958 the National Conference sources in Srinagar have been telling their workers that after Bakshi Saheb's return from Delhi, Sheikh Abdullah's arrest is certain, irrespective of whether he breaks the law or not and stay at home without giving any cause to the authorities to arrest him. Bakshi Rashid, who was in Srinagar a few days ago, is trying hard to get Sheikh Saheb involved in recent cases.

According to them Sheikh must not be allowed to be out on Id day and during the tourist season—as that would expose

their claims. Sheikh is bound to attend the Idgah on Id day and that will expose the meagre following of Bakshi: Then what will happen if V. I. P. s, tourists and other visit Srinagar during the tourist season and contact Sheikh? Will it not again cut through their iron curtain and make even the Indians pro-Sheikh? — So whatever may happen—Sheikh must be kept behind the bars or be removed other wise"—is their determination!

Appeal Against being Black-mailed

It is clear that the arrests that have taken place have nothing to do with the Hazratbal incident but are to take vengeance on the people and all those who have successfully tried to keep them away from being victims of provocative atmosphere by those in the administration who are bent upon creating inflammatory situation to influence international developments. It is also meant to black-mail rest of India to give "blind" support to the present ruling clique.

VI

SUPPRESSION, OBSTRUCTION AND DISTORTION OF NEWS

Sheikh Abdullah's Letter

In his letter dated the 11th January 1958, from Kud Dak Bungalow, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah writes:

".... Just before my release, I had a talk with Mr. Mehra, I. G. P. I told him in unambiguous words that he should in no case apprehend breach of peace on the part of people as we have been ever wedded to the ideal and principle of peace, that what they needed to guard against was the planned attempt that the other side is sure to make to break it and to raise an alarm and that it would be better if they, on their own, directed law and order to frustrate these planned attempts at its breach. My definite information is that hirelings,

goondas, paid agents and anti-social elements have been mustered strong, to coerce people and their tactics are already on display. You can judge for yourself what vicious atmosphere may have been created in the valley when people even in such a far flung area as Doda are subjected hardship and harassment.

"My sole and heartfelt desire was that peaceful atmosphere should exist in the valley which would heal lacerated hearts but from reports received, I can only gather that the intentions of the vested interests are otherwise. The position is so painful to discuss that it will take a long time to describe it even briefly. However a passing reference made to it will absolutely make it clear how the conditions stand at present and how the atmosphere has been poisoned. Press Representatives met me here this morning. Since Dak Bungalow is a public place, entry into it of any person cannot be stopped and the correspondents could easily get hold of me. I told them amongst other things that in no case I betrayed India—rather I was betrayed. I cannot say what opinion they formed as a result of this talk with me. I feel that to assess the same you will please watch carefully that no distortions take place which would complicate the situation further."

Vilification before Release

A plan was got up to renew the vilification campaign even before Sheikh Abdullah was released. Subordinates like Shri Bamzai, Special Officer in the Information Ministry, played the mischievous role in mis-leading and giving the press an impression that "his briefing and line of action was the governmental policy" while in fact there is no doubt that he was carrying on Bakshi Saheb's line of propaganda and working as a protector of their interests than the nationals interests. Shri Zutshi, Director of Information, J and K State, was in Delhi long before and after Sheikh Saheb's release. He compiled all the maligning allegations on the day of arrest of 1953 and distributed them to the Press for use as background story at the time of release.

Sometime before the release newsmen were alerted to be ready to go to Srinagar at the shortest notice. A special plane had been placed at the disposal to fly the press correspondents, including foreign ones, to Srinagar to 'cover' Sheikh Abdullah.

Why the Press of India should have accepted unusual governmental facilities and hospitalities to cover the release and views of the Opposition leaders and thus exposed themselves to popular criticism?

One found the critics and trouble-makers being given full facilities to go to the State. Those who could have contributed in the healing process, were refused permits and made to await Sheikh Abdullah's releases at Kud or at Srinagar.

The behaviour meted out to Sheikh Abdullah at the time of release and later was such as to make him feel that "from Kud detention camp he was being pushed into a larger detention camp and thrown at the mercy of hungry wolves—the usurper ruling party in the State." In this atmosphere, press correspondents confronted him at Kud on 10th January again going there under government hospitality. A section of these were "briefed" for the provocative line that they should take in the conference.

Building up 'Tear Complex'

On the eve of January 8, 1958 the press started commenting upon the possible release of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, while welcoming this, they also invariably sounded a word of caution.

None was against taking precautionary measures to avoid disturbances but the fear of 'breach of peace' had a different background amongst the people and the ruling party in the State. Bakshi Saheb in his press statements and meetings in the valley said that "at no cost the peace and security of the State will be allowed to be disturbed by anybody, whether Sheikh Abdullah or anybody else." He said that "the law

would take its own course to maintain law and order for all time to come."

"..... He, however warned that the State Government would not tolerate any attempt by Pakistani elements to "exploit" the release of Sheikh Abdullah in its favour by causing trouble.

"Stern action would be taken by the Government to prevent breach of law and order in the State." (The 'Indian Express,' 8-2-1958).

This clearly exhibits Bakshi Saheb's distrust of the people and an effort to make everyone believe that "trouble-makers will be all those who oppose him!"

On the other hand, popular warnings and appeals to the Union Authorities were against the ruling partymen and some in administration who were afraid of their vested interests getting endangered in case of Sheikh Saheb's release. They were planning a conspiracy to create such as situation as to justify Bakshi's warning and renewal of repression to vindicate the 9th August 1953 coup and all the followed. such were the divergent views regarding those against whom the need for caution existed.

One fondly, hoped the Press of India would take an objective line appealing to the people, the ruling party and those in authority in the State to rise to the occasion and help in maintaining congenial atmosphere, to realize the existence of cold-war and the need to avoid being exploited. Instead one painfully saw them adopting Bakshi's line of apprehensions and building up fear complex in their readers. They also depicted Sheikh Abdullah as 'an unpredictable factor.' Even leading English papers were being influenced by the current—otherwise would they have stated that:

"..... One thing, however, is clear. No mischief-maker will be allowed to defy authority by taking advantage of Sheikh Abdullah's release. The authorities have ample powers under

the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and also the Indian Constitution to deal with any emergency....."
(The 'Hindustan Times,' 15-12-1957).

"..... By detaining him for four and half years, the State Government has acted essentially with the object of restraining him from damaging national interests but this attitude of endless safely has also helped to create a legend about Sheikh Abdullah. It is now time to test the legend. What people in the rest of the world think of the subject is less important than India's own interests, and these require a rapprochement, if possible and stern action later if necessary. But the present stalemate must end as soon as possible"

(The 'Statesman' of 24th December, 1957 under the caption "Political Scene".)

'News' or Commentaries

The second phase of press news and write-ups on Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah's release is form 7th to 10th January, i.e. even prior to his talks with the Press Correspondents at Kud.

With a few exceptions most of news-coverage contains more views than news. Even the coverage of news of Sheikh Saheb's release exposed many reports to the criticism of being "prejudicial".

Most of the press comrades have known Sheikh Abdullah as a co-resister in the National Movement and a number of them are also acknowledged by Sheikh Saheb as 'friends'. For them to have influenced news with views making running commentaries was most shocking. One need not quote the 'Times of India' as unfortunately its role in this matter has been to deliberately build up anti-national forces in the State matter has been to deliberately build up anti-national forces in the State and strengthen India's international critics. But for the others whose contribution in the national movement has been unique, to have yielded to such inspired

approach even before their personal contact with Sheikh Saheb had been established—is the least one expects from Indian Press.

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah's release on 8th January was covered in the 9th morning press. The following are some extracts from the 'news' which were nothing else than running commentaries:

"..... Observers here concede that undoubtedly he has still some admirers and followers to make himself felt but, at the same time, the supremacy of his leadership has gone. For this he had to blame himself. Apart from known facts publicized to August 1953 when he was removed from office, further particular have come to light which necessitated his detention."

(*The 'Hindustan Times'* 9-1-58)

"..... Informed circles believe Sheikh Abdullah's refusal to proceed to Srinagar on release means mischief. But official circles expressed determination to meet any eventuality arising out of Sheikh Abdullah's present move which definitely gives not only an indication of his mental make-up, but also indicates what line he is going to adopt,"

(*The 'Hindustan Standard'*, 9-1-58)

"..... The Abdullah of today is far removed from the Abdullah of 1951".

"..... There is no evidence of triumphal arches waiting to greet him. Nor, unless the appearances are so deceptive, should he spoil for a brass-band reception. This morning a few crackers went off in a corner of a city lane. If that was a measure of his support in this babel of tongues, then it is obvious that value of Sheikh Abdullah's pre-detention stand, namely, a sovereign Kashmir, has fallen well below zero".

(*The 'Hindustan Times'*, 10-1-58)

"..... There is no doubt that the calm atmosphere that obtains in Srinagar even after the news of his release is

known to everybody, has been somewhat of a surprise and disappointment to the Sheikh. Last night a party of journalists went round Srinagar after the Sheikh's release was announced. There was not the slightest trace of excitement anywhere.

"..... The idea that he could be private citizen in his own State without any power is apparently something which he is not yet prepared to reconcile himself with. Perhaps the Sheikh is bitter both against the Government of India and the Kashmir Government—he would not rest content until the present administration in the Valley is dislodged."

(*The 'Hindu'*, 10-1-58)

"..... The Sheikh decided soon after not to leave Kud and sent his relations and friends back to Srinagar, presumably with instructions to mobilize large support."

(*The 'National Harald'*, 10-1-58)

It is relieving to find that on the whole editorials and notes were balanced and their tone was helpful—a vast contrast between the news-items and write-ups published in the same editions.

From the reports it is clear that Sheikh Abdullah was glad to meet some old friends amongst the press correspondents. He would have desired to gain time to assess the situation before crystallizing his policy and stand but having been confronted by press correspondents he appears to have taken a "non-committal" line on major issues and controversies. Instead of welcoming this the correspondents appears to make a grievance of it and that led to almost all the reports lacking an objective presentation of what Sheikh Abdullah said and it became a coloured report of interpretation of what Sheikh is alleged to be thinking.

Then again the headlines represent the commentators conclusions than Sheikh Abdullah's views. In fact the press conference leaves the reader baffled with the question as to

what really Sheikh said and gives him a feeling that "the press has not done justice to Sheikh Saheb and their readers by following this method." None of the reports are fully covered, is clear from the various emphasis and versions that appear in different newspapers.

Misuse by Pak Radio

How useful this has proved to critics is justified by the Pak Radio news broadcast on the 11th January night. Reporting on Sheikh Abdullah's press conference they did nothing else but only broadcast the headlines given by the newspapers of India on this item! May be they considered this as an effective proof on all that they were saying about Sheikh Saheb!! A smoke-screen to mislead the people of the State and the world regarding Sheikh Saheb's stand while the real fact is otherwise. Since then Pak Radio is following the same policy.

The Radio

Radio Kashmir programmes instead of effectively and in a dignified way countering Pak Radio campaign, have concentrated or 'counteracting' Sheikh Saheb's 'influence' on the people. The result is contradictory and damaging to Indo-Kashmir relationship. The vulgarity it betrays embitters even the non-partisan listeners. In turn it is taken as an attack on the people. As against it Pakistan Radio goes all out as 'campaigner of opposition. Its reaction on the listeners is similar to the role of Japanese and German radio broadcasts on national movement in India prior to 1945.

The press correspondents who came from outside were fully kept busy in official programmes, entertainments and by briefing to "not to report in a way that would expose the weaknesses of the local ruling party!" "The money spent on entertainments etc., was shocking. It was surprising to see press reporting the opposition view-point through Governmental sources.

Masoodi's Statement

This compelled Maulana Mohammed Saeed Massodi ex-M. P. to issue a statement dated 15th January 1958 in which he stated;

"In Kashmir today it is a common grievance that a considerable section of the Indian press does not present to the world the speeches and utterances of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah in their true form but does it in a distorted manner and according to their anticipations and contemplations. The behaviour of the section of the Indian Press towards Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah since his release last week has given cause for fresh complaints in this respect. . . . It is a shocking fact that for reasons best known to them not a single representative of newspapers was present at Anantnag at the time. These reports appear to have been concocted, at Srinagar by the official agency and handed over to certain press correspondents who, it seems with eyes closed, forward the same to their respective papers and knowing very well that the official sources were bent upon giving a coloured version to all the speeches of Sheikh Saheb, they fell a prey to the machination of the interested parties—which no responsible and conscientious journalist would tolerate."

Need of Reconciliation

It is not the question of how Sheikh Abdullah is individually treated or covered by the press but today the role that Kashmiri is expected to play compells us to realize that by any vilification of Sheikh Abdullah or any prejudicial treatment towards him, we are strengthening the two-nation theorists and exposing the country and Kashmir to greater onslaught of the cold-war. We are humiliating ourselves and

undermining the glorious role of the Press of India of which we all have been proud.

Some have complained about Sheikh Saheb's bitter complaint against the press of India. Let's put ourselves in his position and assess our reactions in the wake of the iron curtain and blackout of facts.

In national interests this atmosphere must be removed. Good-will, co-operation and the spirit of inter-reliance have to be built up between the Indian Press, Sheikh Abdullah and others who are struggling against the cold-war and want to built up an effective barricade against it. The Press of India also desires the same and therefore the intermediary elements-official briefers, have to be set aside and direct relations built up. It is a difficult task, especially when the spirit of suspicion has grasped us and, therefore, one may plead with the Press of India and the moulders of public opinion to use their good offices to bring about reconciliation between them and the aggrieved people of the State and their leaders.

An Editor Appeal

Sardar Sant Singh Tegh, president, State Akali Dal, Jammu and Kashmir and Editor of 'Akali Yodha', Jammu in a press statement says:

"On 13th January 1958 night at 9.30 I was attacked at Lal Chowk for the fifth time by the official goondas. Like other attacks, this was also a planned attack. During the spring of 1956 I was seriously attacked by the paid goondas of the Government at Gulmarg. But the present attack was a murderous one. Details are:

"After dining at a friend's place when I was returning home Sardar Gurpurab Singh, Manager, Pladium met me at Lal Chowk. While we were exchanging greetings all of a sudden more than a dozen National Conference goondas surrounded me. Two of them known to be special favourites of Bakshi Brothers, attacked me with at Kangri and their

companion whipped out sharp knife from his pocket when Sardar Gurpurab Singh intervened.

"The goondas felt upon Sardar Gurpurab Singh and thus my life was saved. In the interest of country I evaded a scuffle and ran away from the place so that this incident may not become the cause of a disturbance. I telephonically apprised the Inspector General of Police of the whole incident. On his instruction Kh. Ghulam Rasool, Superintendent Police arrived at the scene at 10 P. M. He in turn ordered the Thana Shergadhi to register a case but so far they have not taken any further action. Later on I came to know that the Sub-Inspector who was appointed to investigate into this incident was standing near Pladium together with some policemen to help the goondas according to their plan.

"In view of such situation, getting justice is not only difficult but it is rather impossible. Now a responsible friend has informed me that this Sub-Inspector of Maisuma, who is one of the favourite puppets of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and is always ready to help goondas in looting at the given signal, has postponed the case. Instead, over-night he has prepared a case against us.

"Inspite of all this, being a humble servant of my country and nation, I declare that since Bakshi Brothers are bent upon finishing persons like me and other patriots for no other fault than pronouncing the truth and are busy hatching new conspiracies, they should be aware that even if I have to sacrifice my mortal life, I shall go on exposing their conspiracies of playing with the fates of Kashmir and India, and their tactics of repression and tyranny to remain in power. . . . Their police, Militia, Peace Brigade, wealth and paid goondas will not be able to save them. How far such attacks can effect a person, who for the sake of justice and truth, opposed and protested against Wakefield, Colvin, B. N. Rau, Hari Kishan Kaul, Janak Singh, Ayyanger, Maharaj Singh, Ram Chander Kak, Mahajan, Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed etc. ?"

Uniformity of reports published in the Press leaves no doubt of their origin being the same officially sponsored and briefed. How helpless the correspondents feel is proved from the following incidents:

Report Sent before Actual Speech

On 17th January Maulana Masoodi sent an authentic version of Sheikh Abdullah's speech to the Press correspondents. This was snatched away by Bakshi Rashid "M. P." before delivery. Then again the people of Anantnag saw some newsmen despatching their "report on Sheikh Saheb's speech" at about 12 noon while in fact Sheikh Saheb addressed the meeting at 2 p. m.!

Why Accept Official Version Only ?

Another popular experience is that "Since 1952 knowingly or unknowingly majority of the press correspondents in the State have been "doped" under the slogan of working for India but in their actions undermining the interests of Indo-Kashmir relationship." They in fact have widened the gulf. Recently the 'Times of India' ridiculed the reports of repression circulated for publication to the Press by the Opposition. Invariably the correspondents take the official versions as against the personal experiences of the victims themselves.

It seems to be advisable to pose a question as to why is the rest of India they do not adopt the same policy of only accepting the official versions of incidents and not investigating into the incidents to find out truth, in case of doubt? The Press has been considered the protector of civil liberties. Unfortunately, the majority of the Press in Kashmir matters have been following a reverse policy.

With regret we have noted that in Kashmir these organizations are built up not for the protection of those who are in this profession or to safeguard the interest and fulfil

the duties and responsibilities of journalism but it is used for deluding the world that "democracy and freedom of the Press exist in Kashmir."

Any-body who has been carefully following the majority Press attitude since 1953 is surprised to see how the prejudices continue and the similarity in the write-ups prior to 9th August 1953 and that of the present. The same type of headlines and prejudices have re-appeared, making it clear that there is something fundamentally wrong in the agencies which are briefing the Press or representing them.

An Unhealthy Trend of Journalism

This is a dangerous trend in Indian journalism and must be checked in time before the Press of the country is again exploited on the large scale for the ulterior purposes of interested parties. We also had major catastrophies due to unawareness of this exploitation. Could Godse alone have dared to kill Gandhiji? How often Gandhiji pleaded with the Press to play a responsible role is clear from the following:

"Was liberty of the press to amount to licence to poison the public mind?" (p. 159)

"The newspapers had taken the place of the Gita, the Bible and the Koran with the people. For them the printed sheet was gospel truth. The fact threw a great responsibility on the editors and reporters. The kind of stuff that was read out to him that afternoon should never be allowed to be published. Such newspaper should be banned." (p. 194)

"He himself never swore by newspaper reports and would warn readers of newspapers, not to be easily affected by stories reported therein. Not even the best of them were free from exaggeration and embellishment. But supposing, that what they read in the papers was true, even then a bad example was never a pattern to follow." (p. 240)

"He warned the people and the newspapers against making unverified or exaggerated statements. It would serve no useful purpose to deceive their friends." (p. 253)

'Welcome Criticism Says Gandhi

"The lesson that I would have my friends of Kathiawad, and incidentally others, to draw from incidents, such as this, is that they should have their own house in perfect order, they should always welcome criticism, even when it is bitter, and they should profit by it by becoming more exact, if possible, and correcting their errors, whenever detected. We should never make the mistake of thinking, that we can never make any mistakes. The bitterest critic is bitter, because he has some grudge, fancied or real, against us. We shall set him right, if we are patient with him and, whenever the occasion arises, show him his error or correct our own, when we are to be found in error." (p. 255)

Balasaheb Kher once said that his efforts to organize a Bilingual Bombay State campaign in Bombay has been blacked out by the majority of the Press. Often Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has also pleaded with the Press to get out of their narrow sphere and play an important role in building the nation.

Appeal for Enquiry

In the matters of Kashmir the need of Press cooperation is greater. We should not be taken as critics but as colleagues who want the Press to be alerted against its exploitation and misuse for cold-war. In larger national interest an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill has to be developed between the Press of India, Sheikh Abdullah and the people of the State. One does not mind friendly and objective criticism even though it might be the most severe of its type but one does mind the hysterical impression that the Press of India gives in dealing with Sheikh and the people of Kashmir.

Is it not true that Sheikh Abdullah's release was not allowed to take place in a normal peaceful manner? Who was responsible for making it a "big event" and giving trouble to the Press correspondents from India to go to the State in a special plane, special State transport and hospitality to rush to kud and give everyone a feeling that it was "some extraordinary event of importance?" Had not the ruling party misused the Press for their desire to trap Sheikh Saheb as soon as he was released and before he met his colleagues and breathed the air of freedom, if one can call it in the circumstances in which Sheikh Saheb has been released.

The Problems that strangle the Freedom of Press in Kashmir are:

1. Evolve a system that would secure for the Press correspondents an objective and unbiased translation of speeches in Kashmiri.
2. Press correspondents' dispatches are killed in the censor and most of it is at the mercy of local National Conference bosses or other outside and in the administration.
3. Give a feeling of security and protection to the local journalists so that they do not feel as being at the mercy of the ruling party and fighting a single-handed battle for the freedom of the press.
4. To take effective means to assess the amount of exploitation of the Press that takes place for cold war strategy and get effective ways and means adopted to resist it.
5. Stop taking news or views of the Opposition through government agencies and discontinue moulding one's policy towards opposition on Government briefing and interpretations.

Some of us are aware of the fact that many in the Press privately accept the existence of official pressure tactics and

the strangling atmosphere in which the correspondents have to work and if they are local then for their own interests. How they have to submit to play the tune of the ruling party even against national interests is well known, yet none is prepared to bell the cat to save the prestige of the Press of India and to give their readers the confidence that whatever they are reading is true and objective reporting and not falsehood.

Editors Detained

At about 7 P.M. on February 10, 1958 police officers visited Master Roshanlal's shop—Janta Cloth House, Purani Mandi, Jammu and told him that he was wanted at the City Police Station. He immediately accompanied them. At the Police Station, he was asked to wait in a room surrounded by the policemen who would neither allow him to go back nor they would tell him as to why he was brought there. Meanwhile his P.S.P. colleague Omprakash Saraf contacted him. He also tried to seek information from the Police personnel who had only to say "we have brought Masterji here because we were asked to do so by higher authorities." After an hour or so a police officer Nagarwal saw Masterji who was asked to accompany him to another room, and Saraf was asked to leave the Police Station. Until this time no warrant of arrest had been shown to Masterji. Late in the night it was learnt that he had been detained under Preventive Detention Act and removed to Reasi Jail where they reached next morning. All attempts on the part of local journalists also proved in vain and only information they could collect was that the police refused to disclose the cause of his arrest.

On the 13th the house and shop of Mater Roshanlal were also searched wherefrom they could get nothing except a few personal letters. Yet however officially sponsored news given to the press was that "discriminatory papers" were found !! As to further victimization, Roshanlalji has not been given so far any special treatment although he is suffering from acute piles trouble. In the past this jail has been looked upon as

"Kala Pani" of J and K State. Conditions and the building is like a Police lock-up in a small Tehsil Headquater. Lack of any other prisoner has made Masterji's jail life akin to solitary imprisonment.

The master was the sole organizer of the National Conference in Jammu province and the "Sach", the official organ of the Party when Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah formed the first popular Government in the State in 1948. Ever since the Editor and the paper have been in the fore-front of the State's popular movement. In 1955, Masterji joined the P.S.P. and became a member of its State Executive. Before and after the release of Sheikh Saheb the "Sach" has been persistently pleading with the people to understand and appreciate his approach and not to believe the distorted versions of the interested persons.

'Sach' has been maintaining a useful link between the people of the valley and the outside people. It was never administered a warning about any news item appearing therein. The sudden detention of the Editor under the Kashmir Preventive Detention Act—the lawless law which permits detention without trial for a maximum period of five years, is a clear evidence that the State authorities are out to increase tension by denying the right of expression to the people.

Editors Persecuted

It may be recollected here that Sardar Sant Singh Tegh, State Akali Dal's chief, who is also Editor of the 'Akali Yodha,' Jammu, was recently assaulted in a broad-day light in the heart of Srinagar because he had as an eye-witness contradicted certain reports in a section of Delhi Press.

Discrimination

How even "the friends" of the ruling party who dare to differ from the official line are crushed, is revealed by the decision taken last week by Mr. Ramlal Varma Editor of the

pro-National Conference weekly 'Awami Daur' Jammu, to cease publication as a protest against the policy of the State Information Administration.

The experience of the Editor of 'The Vakil' further throws light on the deplorable state of press Affairs prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir State, the substance of his press statement is— "The Constitution of the State guarantees the basic right of freedom of the Press and the platform. Therefore it is disquieting to observe that the State Government have had belied the popular hopes and defeated the ends and purposes of democracy by curbing the liberty of the Press".

"The State Press has never met such a fate even in the Maharaja's regime as it has been facing now with the inception of the 'Awami Raj'."

"Some days ago, I, as Printer, Publisher and Editor of the "Vakil" submitted an application to the District Magistrate, Srinagar for seeking the permission to publish the "Vakil" daily in English on the payment of Rs. one thousand (Rs. 1000/-) as cash security. The District Magistrate on the next day, after consulting the higher authorities, totally refused the permission to publish the "Vakil" even though rupees one thousand were given as security deposit. Denying this the District Magistrate proudly added that scores of applications for publishing the news—papers were already lying in his office and that no permission was granted to any of the applicants."

"All this clearly reveals as to how undemocratically the State Administration functions, and also how the people of the State are debarred of their fundamental rights of Civil Liberties."

In contrast to such a treatment meted out to the Press, it will be interesting to note, as to how a Faithful Press is being built up. 'Contracts' are being sanctioned favouring the relatives of the loyal ones. Government jobs are being created for them. And thousands of rupees are being spent

in the name of plan publicity to boost up the yellow press whose only function is to carry on malicious propaganda against Sheikh Abdullah. Let All India Newspaper Editors' conference institute an inquiry into the situation. This will be in their own interest as, of course, in the interest of the unfortunate but valiant people of the Jammu and Kashmir State who are being subjected to worst form of totalitarianism.

Hazratbal News

The news of the Hazratbal incident should be flashed in the following manner by the press in Delhi is an event of regret:

1. VIOLENT ARMED MOB ATTACKS NATIONAL CONFERENCE RALLY.

Trouble follows Abdullah's Speech.

(Hindustan Standard)

2. ABDULLAH'S FOLLOWERS ATTACK NATIONAL CONFERENCE RALLY.

(Hindustan Times)

3. 15 HURT IN ATTACK BY ABDULLAH'S CAMP FOLLOWERS

Post-Prayer Incident Near Srinagar.

(Indian Express)

4. MANY INJURED IN SRINAGAR CLASH.

Attack on National Conference Meeting.

(Statesman)

Who are the "Hooligans" ?

How can they be blamed for distortion when the I.G.P., an officer lent to the State by the Indian Police should have hurried to conclusions without making a fair and impartial investigation into this event. The press report further states:

"The Inspector General of Police, Mr. D.W.Mehra, told newsmen, here tonight that the attack was pre-meditated by 'hooligans'. He said-according to first reports reaching here some sharpedged weapons seemed to have been used by the 'hooligans' besides sticks and stones."

(‘Times of India’ 22-2-1958)

The question is : who are 'hooligans' and for whom did they function? Kh. Ghulam Qadir, ex-M.P., has not only held responsible posts in the State but has had à notable record of service in the war against the raiders. In view of this would not one expect the I.G.P. to find out from Kh. Ghulam Qadir, now in police custody falsely charged, as to what tortures he has been subjected to at the hands of S.P. Ganderbali and what action has the I.G.P. taken against this officer who is no more a state employee but is a member of the Indian Police cadre?

Homage News Blacked-out

In the background of national mourning and deep grief, is it not shocking to see the dubious method adopted in the news reporting of the presentation of the event and Sheikh Saheb's prayer meeting speech? Blacking out the homage paid to Maulana Saheb by the Hazratbal congregation and the prayers offered by them and Sheikh Saheb, left the readers aghast at such developments and made them feel that Kashmir and Sheikh Saheb did not share the grief with rest of India. Is it fair to the people of Srinagar that State powers should be so used as to debar them from being co-sharers in the national grief for the departed leader by getting them involved in local struggle for existence against goondaism ?

‘News’ or White Lies ?

Actual facts are such that the National Conference bosses and goondas have renewed their brutal persecution and

harassment and on their lead the police has started the illegal detention, searches, beating up and third-degree tortures, it is surprising to find the press being informed that National Conferencites are being attacked by Plebiscite Front workers. The P.T.I.message in newspapers of 25th Febrary 1958, reporting on this event states:

"The pro-Abdullah Plebiscite Front and the pro-Pakistan Political Conference workers today again attacked a group of National Conference workers with lathis and stones in Ali-kadal, adjoining Maharajganj, Srinagar's famous business centre.

"Mr Ghulam Ahmed Lone, a prominent National Conference worker, and some other National Conference workers were injured.

"The police arrived on the scene of incident and restored order. Ten persons were arrested.

"It is stated that workers of the Plebiscite Front and Political conference attacked National Conference workers outside a shop without any provocation.

"Today's attack on National workers is the second since last Friday when a National Conference workers' rally was attacked at Hazratbal as a result of which one person died and 30 were injured. — P.T.I."

Heading given to this news by Delhi English dailies are:

"SECOND ATTACK BY PRO-PAK ELEMENTS—
Incident in Srinagar"

(Times of India' 25-2-58)

"PLEBISCITE FRONT AGAIN INDULGES IN
HOOLIGANISM"

(Hindustan Times' 25-2-58)

"ANOTHER CLASH IN SRINAGAR"

(Hindustan Standard' 25-2-58)

All India Radio also followed the same line in their news broadcast.

Distortions

How the Press has been exploited and forced to give official version of alleged opposition's activities and reports for creating prejudicial atmosphere is well known. Following is another example of this:

"Kashmir Police today "seized one revolver and 40 rounds of ammunition from the residence of Mr Ghulam Mohiuddin Hamdani, genral secretary of the Pro-Abdullah Plebiscite Front".

('Hindustan Times.' February 26, 1958)

It gives an impression of the revolver being possessed illegally while in fact it was possessed with a licence !!

Substantiating Evidence (?) and Concoction

Very few news agencies and special correspondents appear to be aware of the new technique of the ruling party in the J and K State to use them for building up criminal cases against the opponents. They are trying hard to make the world believe that "Sheikh Abdullah's speeches and activities are causing breach of peace". Truth being otherwise how they concoct stories is given below:

8th and 9th March English and language newspapers carried the following U.P.I. news:

AIR FORCE WORKER SEVERELY BEATEN BY ABDULLAH'S MEN

"Srinagar, March 7: Soon after Sheikh Abdullah finished his speech at Khanqah Maulla today, a group of his followers, shouting pro-Abdullah and pro-Pakistan slogans, caught hold of an Air Force employee, Makhan Lal in Srinagar City,

manhandled him and inflicted grievous injuries. He was going on a motor cycle when he was thrown down and beaten.

"Timely arrival of the police prevented the crowd from setting the motor cycle on fire and sprinkling petrol over the body of the injured in a bid to burn him alive.

"Makhan Lal has been admitted to hospital -U.P.I."

While Facts were

The contents themselves expose their falsehood. Yet I considered it very important as it aims at the insinuation that "Sheikh Saheb's speeches are leading to violence and attack on military personnel". Hence I conveyed it to Maulana Masoodi Saheb and the following is the result of his check - up:

"The said event is reported to have been taken place near Shali Store which is about two miles away from Khanqah Niaulla. A man in civilian clothes was riding a motor cycle when near the Shali Store a young child of Sheikh Ghulam Mohammed got knocked off and was hurt. The man was stopped by the shopkeepers and others on the spot and rebuked for his rash driving. From this a quarrel started. Sheikh Ghulam Mohammed took the injured child to the hospital and also reported the case to the Police thana. It is said that the man's name is Makhan Lal, who has also done the same and was advised by the police to go to the hospital !! The police had taken away the licence of Makhan Lal but later on it was returned to him".

"As far as Srinagar is concerned, this event is not known to any one nor have the police or those in authority taken any cognizance of it, nor is it known that Makhan Lal is an Air Force employee as has been made out by the news agency. It is taken as one of the normal cases of traffic accidents and local quarrels which sometimes take place."

Such stories are being given to the press with the hope that "facts appearing in the press" could be used as substantiating evidence in the fabricated cases against the opposition.

In the above case if there is any difference of opinion regarding facts, let an open impartial enquiry be held and truth found out. Police investigation or a case through legal procedure will not help reach the truth when there are innumerable experiences of police tampering with first information reports !

Telegram Held Up

Direct reporting to news agencies, leaders of Parliamentary parties, to the Prime Minister, Home Minister and Mridulaji also is not possible. Post offices are controlled by the National Conference and Peace Brigade bosses. They hold up telegrams. The postmasters dare not inform the sender about it nor do they refund the money. They are threatened with dire consequences if they go against local National Conference bosses. A glaring example of this is that on Sunday, 23rd February 1958, telegrams sent by Kh. Ghullam Mohiuddin Hamdani, general secretary of the Plebiscite Front, reporting the situation at Hazratbal were addressed to the Prime Minister Panditji, Home Minister Pantji, Press Trust of India and leaders of various parties in the Parliament and a copy was sent to Mridulaji. According to local information these telegrams have been withheld. Same happened to the following two telegrams:

On 23rd February Kh. Ali Shah sent an express telegram. Saying:

"WILD ALLEGATIONS LEVELLED AGAINST
PLEBISCITE FRONT ON SAD HAPPENINGS OF
TWENTY FIRST AT HAZRATBAL STOP
ALLEGATION BASELESS AND MALICIOUS
STOP GENUINE DEMAND IMMEDIATE
IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY"

Later on, on 26th Maulana Mohammed Saeed Masoodi, ex-M.P., sent a telegram to Panditji and similar one to Mridulaji which reads:

"ON TWENTYFIRST FEBRUARY RULING PARTY WORKERS DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO CREATE TROUBLE AT HAZRATBAL TO FIND PRETEXT INVOLVE THEIR OPPONENTS IN CRIMINAL CASES TO WREAK VENGEANCE UPON THEM AND VITIATE ATMOSPHERE NECESSARY FOR CALM CONSIDERATION OF PROBLEMS FAILING IN THEIR EFFORTS THEY AGAIN TRIED TO CREATE DISTURBANCES IN CITY ON TWENTYFOURTH TWENTYFIFTH IN ORDER TO SPREAD LARGE SCALE PANIC IN GETTING AN EXCUSE FOR FREELY USING CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE AND OTHER FORCES AND HARASS PEOPLE INDISCRIMINATELY FORTUNATELY PEOPLE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR INTENTIONS FACE SITUATIONS CALMLY LARGE SCALE ARRESTS THROUGHOUT VALLEY HAVE TAKEN PLACE STILL CONTINUE THOSE ARRESTED INCLUDE PROMINENT LEADERS OF KASHMIR FREEDOM MOVEMENT SINCE TWENTYSEVEN YEARS THOSE HAVE PRIVILEGE TO WORK ALONG NEHRU AND YOU ALL THEY ARE INVOLVED IN CRIMINAL CASES DETAINED AND KEPT IN COLD DIRTY LOCKUPS IN VARIOUS POLICE STATIONS AMONGST THESE SOOFI MOHAMMED AKBAR GHULAM MOHAMMED CHICKEN MOHIUDDIN HAMDANI GHULAM MOHAMMED BEG GHULAM MOHAMMED BUTT GHULAM QADIR GANDERBALI MIRZA GHULAM QADIR BEG HISAMUDDIN BANDEY ARE VICTIMS OF CHRONIC AILMENTS AND DUE TO LACK OF PROPER TREATMENT AND MEDICAL ATTENDANCE THEIR LIVES IN

DANGER ANY IMPARTIAL OBSERVER ON SPOT CAN FIND EASILY SUPPRESSION OF OPPONENTS BY FRAUDULENT MEANS HAVE REACHED PEAK SITUATION CAN YET BE SAVED I EARNESTLY APPEAL TO ALL FOR IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY JUSTICE AND FAIRPLAY".

Complaints have been made to the telegraph authorities but conditions have not improved. Senders were not even informed if the telegrams were held up, nor was the money refunded.

How difficult it is to put through even trunk calls from Srinagar is well illustrated when on 23rd night form 8 P.M. to 11 P.M. Hamdani Saheb, ex-M.L.A. sat by the Telephone to get through a trunk call to Mridulaji. Under various pretensions that also did not materialize!!

The News-agency and special press correspondents in Srinagar are failing to extend co-operation to the opposition, especially Sheikh Abdullah, and get correct report about his speeches, nor do they circulate his authorized script. On the other hand there are concrete proofs of their depending on Government's alleged version and briefing about the speeches for publication.

It is not only a question of purposeful distortion of Sheikh's sayings to appease the ruling party in the State or satisfy his opponents in India but to help the two-nation theorists' cold-war and deepen the conspiracy. It is also laying down a dangerous precedent of reporting opposition views under Governmental inspiration.

As a reply to this, there appeared a general desire that salient points of Sheikh Saheb's speeches should reach the news agencies on the same day in time to enable them to check up and stop the mischief if any.

Since Friday 28th February, this arrangement has been made. Every night salient points of Sheikh Saheb's speeches

and main events of the day are supplied to the news agencies and yet there is no change in the policy of giving real version of the speeches.

Masoodi's Painful Letter

How this adversely affects the people of Kashmir is well illustrated in a heart-rending letter to us by Maulana Mohd. Saeed Masoodi, ex-M.P., dated 4th March, which reads as follows:

"Situation has taken a queer turn. Seeing that the opponents want to destroy peace and political opposition and are involving them in criminal cases, Sheikh Saheb has started direct contact with the people. He is visiting mohallas and suburbs. He desires to personally convey his message to everyone. Whatever is being told in speeches is being reported to you by me every night with the hope that it will be published in the newspapers but it is a matter of great regret that nowhere it is published and no mention of it appears in the press. If your presence could not benefit the cause of conveying the popular helplessness to the people at least if it did so to the moulders of public opinion then also some change would have taken place, was our hope and the people here would not have become so much disappointed with India's inability to give them justice. Can't you all even in this matter serve the cause of Indo-Kashmir relationship? Can you not even make the Kashmiris feel that together with rice they can get justice also?

"The vengeance that is being wreaked on the arrested persons in the lock-ups even surpasses the experience of the past five years. Inform India that in Srinagar Police lock-ups the colleagues of Panditji and ex-Members of Parliament are being given only

ten annas for 24 hours and they have to huddle like chattel in small barracks and are subjected to countrymade wick lamps which let out lot of smoke. If the doors are open then biting cold comes in and if they are closed the atmosphere becomes suffocating and if the lamps are put out then they have to spend their time in darkness.

"We have been conveying to you all this in every detail.

"Even now if arrests stop, goondaism is put to an end and the Union Officers instead of leaving the law and order in the hands of local conspirators, realize their own responsibility, then even today an atmosphere for a meeting between Sheikh Saheb and Panditji can be created and a way can be found for the removal of all difficulties and trials."

It is said that the Delhi, Authorities of the news agencies did try to check up with their correspondents who vouched for truthful reporting on their side—thus silencing their bosses here. If this is true then let the administrative bosses, the Directors of these news agencies, institute an inquiry on the spot—examine witnesses from the complainants and find out the truth.

These news agencies are national assets and their misuse by any one should not be allowed to go unheeded, especially when the serious charges exist about their being used for doubtful motives.

Failing to convince that Sheikh Abdullah was conspiring with foreign powers and that he was a communalist and fanning communal passions, the ruling men in the State are using the press agencies to create a feeling that Sheikh is "preaching violence and violent revolt against India and is calling upon the People to rise and take vengeance against their enemies" etc. He is also alleged to be "preaching dissatisfaction against Police" etc.

This being utterly false, it becomes one's duty to plead with all to stop the news agencies and special correspondents acting as instrument of conspirators who are now building up their case on facts appearing in the press.

Fictitious Charge of "Defiance" of Section 50

Since the promulgation of Section 50, it is well known that Sheikh Saheb and Sheikhites will make every effort to avoid its defiance yet the authorities want to make the world believe otherwise and hence on 14th and 15th March 1958 the newspapers carried the following U.P.I. message:

"7 ARRESTED IN SRINAGAR

Defiance of Ban on Processions

"Srinagar, March 13 : Seven persons were taken into custody last night for defying the ban on processions imposed last week under the Jammu and Kashmir Security Regulations. Police made the arrests as they formed themselves into a procession and began to demonstrate in Zandar Mohalla in the heart of the city.

"This was the first instance of defiance of the ban by Sheikh Abdullah's followers."

"2 MORE HELD AT SRINAGAR

Defiance of Ban

"Srinagar, March 14: Two more persons have been arrested here yesterday for defying the ban on processions.

"... It may be recalled that five persons were arrested yesterday for defying the ban."

(Times of India' 15-3-58)

Innocents Arrested from their Residences

After having failed to involve Sheikh Saheb in all sorts of wild charges and feeling desperate about his attitude against law-breaking at this stage, it appears that the authorities want all to believe that he is working from behind the scene and is creating "a law and order" problem, thus building up a case to arrest him without any cause. The facts are:

On 12th and 13th March mid-night the following were arrested from their respective residences and charge-sheeted for defying the ban":

1. Nooruddin Darzi of Karfali Mohalla.
2. Ghulam Nabi of Safakadal.
3. Abdul Rahman of Kanikadal.
4. Mohd. Siddiq of Kanikadal.
5. Shamsuddin of Panzipora—a student preparing for exams.
6. Haji Mohd. Ismail of Gaokadal.

Similarly on the 14th morning at about 4 A.M. the following were arrested from their residences and charge-sheeted for defiance for ban:

1. Gulla Sheikh of Habakadal.
2. Rishi Gujarji of Zenakadal.
3. Sona Ganai Butmalo of Kanikadal.

The Problems Must be Faced

Assuming that the ruling party and some administrative Union Officers do succeed in getting Sheikh Saheb rearrested and letting loose worst repression, yet will it lead to the present regime in the State or India becoming popular with the people? Will it save the people from the ideology that the two-nation theorists are trying to build up in the State

and outside? Will it not justify the basis on which they secured the partitioning of the country in 1947?

If Sheikh Saheb's re-detention and arrests of all of us would achieve results, it is a worth while sacrifice in the cause of the country. But If there is another side of the picture and a warning to beware against those in the State who pose as "ardent Indians" but are working to enable the two-nation theorists to strike the last blow, then, is the present complacency not endangering national interests? There is no doubt that anti-Indian forces in the administration are bent on creating "critical situations in the valley making the world believe in-lack of justice from India," so that they get the international public opinion to force issues and make the unfortunate State the victim of immediate conflict of power blocs.

VII

List of Some Out of Many Victims of Repression Between 9th and 11th January 1953

Sl.No.	Name of Injured	S/O	Residence	Details of Loss /Injury	Place of Occurrence
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Noor Modh. Gujri	Mohd. Shaban	Chinkralmohala	Injured	Nala Amirkhan
2.	Aziz Gujri	Razak Gujri	"	"	" "
3.	Abdu Rehman	Mohd. Sidiq	"	Watch/Loi	"
4.	Abdu Karim	Ismail Gujri	"	Beating etc.	"
5.	Ghulam Rasool Siraj	Ghulam Modh. Siraj	Pather Masjid Makhdumkocha	Loi	Hawal
6.	Mohd. Sidiq Darzi	Ghulam Nabi	"	Cash Rs. 60/=Loi Cap & watch	Nala Amirkhan
7.	Ghulam Rasool	Abdul Rehman	2nd Bridge, Malapora	"	"
8.	Ghulam Rasool Bagban	Ali Bagban	Malikangan	Cash Rs. 6/=Loi	"
9.	Chulam Nabi Khan	Mohamed Sidiq	Kanikadal	Cash Rs. 270/=	Nowshehra
10.	G. Qadir Gujri	Jamal Gujri	Reshmohala, 2nd Bridge	Cash Rs. 6/=Loi	"
11.	Ghulam Hussan Zargar	—	Pandan Nowhatta	Beating	Near Halqa NC Nowhatta

(Contd.)

Call for Impartial Inquiry

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1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	G. Mohd. Zargar	Ghulan Ahmed	Chatabal	Beaten and arrested.	Chatabal under instruction of Alimullah "
13.	Mohd. Ismail	—	Watal Kadal	Beaten	Shalmohala Hawal "
14.	Habibulla Darzi	G.R. Darzi	Malikangan	Loi	Shalmohala Hawal "
15.	G. M. Pandit	Ama Pandit	"	Loi	"
16.	A. Aziz Pyala	—	Kalamdanpora	Beaten/Aрестed	Mujahid Manzil
17.	G. Mohammed	—	Maharaj Bazar	"	Hanoman Mandir under instructions from Qadir Nata
18.	Abdul Khalil	—	"	Boat Attacked	"
19.	Sheikh Mohd. Sultan	Noor Mohd. Rangrez	Krala Khud	Harassment	Basantbagh. By Noor Bagban "
20.	Ali Mohammed Bazaz	Ghulam Mohd.	Chand—pora, 2nd Bridge	"	"
21.	H. Mohd. Ismail	—	Shahidgunj	Beaten/Injured	Soura Bus Stop
22.	Ali Mohd. Darzi	Ahad Joo	Sheikh Mohala	Cash Rs. 300/=	Sheikh Mohala
23.	S.G. Mohammed	—	Wazir Bagh	Beaten	Soura Bus Stop

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Lieut G. M. Dar	Ghulam Rasool	Shergarhi	Threat of murder	Lal Chowk by Majid Driver and relative of Tariq M.P.
25.	Ali Ahenger	—	Drugjan	Beaten	Drugjan. By Gilkarand Bandey, S. I. Police.
26.	Amka Najjar	Mohd. Najjar	Pather Masjid	"	Kothi Bagh PS by Policemen
27.	Ahad Najjar	Rasool Najjar	"	"	"
28.	Khizer Hajam	—	"	"	"
29.	G. Mohd. Ahenger	Ali Mohammed	Dalal Mohala	"	Nowhatta "
30.	Abdul Rehman	Ramzan	Islamyrabal	"	"
31.	G. Rasool Ahenger	M. Ismail	"	"	"
32.	M. Yousuf Shah	Nizam Shah	Naidakdal	Beaten / Arrested	Khanayar
33.	Naziruddin	Saiuddin	Makhdommandan	"	"
34.	G. M. Misgar	Gaffar Misgar	Khajabazar	"	"
35.	Nizamuddin Naqash	Giyasuddin	"	"	Khwajabazar
36.	G. Mohd. Naqash	Amiruddin	"	Beaten	"
37.	Abdul Samad	Lala Gujri	Pandan	"	"
38.	Abdul Rehman	Abdul Aziz	Khajabazar	"	"

VIII

**List of Arrested Persons from 21st February to
21st March, 1958**

Since 21st of February under the pretext of Hazratbal incident indiscriminatory roundups of opposition and specially of Sheikhs started. From 21st February to 6th March most of them were arrested without warrants under the pretext of being charge-sheeted for Hazratbal incident.

The new phase arrests started from 7th March after the promulgation of Section 50. Sheikh Abdullah's guidance against breaking of the ban resulted in the authorities not getting any opportunity to really find any demonstrators to arrest. Therefore, they adopted a new technique of arresting persons from homes and shops and charge-sheeting them under the pretext of "defying the ban" or "helping in collection of Legal Defence and Relief Fund."

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Arrested</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Particulars</i>
1	2	3	4	5
1.	21-2-58	Mohd. Siddiq Saudagar	Shah Mohalla	On the night between 22nd and 23rd Febru-
2.	at 5 P.M.	Mohammed Yusuf	Reiteng, Khanyar	ary ADM ca-
3.	"	Ghulam Nabi	Navapora	me to the thana
4.	"	Mohd. Sikander Malik	Devi Angan	at 12 o'clock and gave a we-
5.	8 P. M.	Kh. Ghulam Qadir	Noonar	ek's remand. He
6.	23-2-58	Kh. Hissamuddin Banday	Hazratbal	said now they
7.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Sheikh Batmalna Azad Mazdoor Union		will be charged under Sec. 302.
8.	"	Ghulam Hassan Kanth	Syed Ali Akbar Saheb	The accused asked to be sent to judicial
9.	24-2-58	Kh. Ghulam Mohd. Butt	Basant Bagh	lock-up which was not acce-

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
10.	24.2.58	Abdul Ghaffar Gujri Pathar Masjid	ded to.	
11.	"	Ghulam Hassan Nauhatta Zargar		
12.	"	Ghulam Nabi Khiyal	Mashali Mohalla	
13.	"	Mohd. Shaba Aaloo	Safakadal	
14.	"	Abdul Gaffar Gosani	Dalgate	
15.	"	Abdul Khaliq Baktoo Haqa president	"	
16.	"	Mohd. Sultan Wani	Wani Yar	Halqa President
17.	"	Ghulam Mohiuddin Alai	Safakadal	
18.	"	Mohd. Sultan Khajoo	Malaratta	Released
19.	"	Abdul Rahim Darzi	Safakadal	
20.	"	Ghulam Mohiuddin Bazaz	Maisuma	
21.	"	Abdul Kabir Mir	Chinkral Mohalla	
22.	"	Pir Md. Yusuf Makhdoomi	Nauhatta	
23.	"	Abdul Ghani Wani	Latarmasjid, Safakadal	
24.	"	Ghulam Qadir Darzi	Haftyarbal	
25.	"	Ghulam Qadir Gosani	Dalgate	
26.	"	Haji Ghulam Ahmed Baqal	Rainawadi	
27.	"	Abdul Ahad Lone	Khanyar	Arrested while working in the office.

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
28.	24.2.58	Ghulam Rasool Karra	Batmalna	
29.	25-2-58	Soofi Mohd. Akbar ex-M.P.	Sopore	At 12 midnigh
30.	"	Ghulam Qadir Soofi	Pattan	
31.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Shahri	Sopore	
32.	"	Ghulam Qadir Dand	Spore	
33.	"	Abdul Khaliq Nanwai	"	
34.	"	Ghulam Nabi Surma	Wazapora	
35.	"	Abdul Salaam Tranboo	Kalashpora	
36.	"	Abdul Salaam Qalinban	Malik Angan	
37.	"	Ghulam Rassol Tranboo	Kalashpora	Not yet arrested Warrant issued.
38.	"	Pir Hafeezullah	Khanqah Moulla	
39.	"	Kh. Ali Md. Naik, Vakil Member, Defence Council	Tral Town	Arrested at 6 p.m. at Central Office.
40.	"	Mohammed Azim Soofi	Hazratbal	
41.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Thogoo	Dabtal	
42.	"	Mohd. Sultan Franch	Watalkadal	
43.	"	Moulvi Abdul Hamid, Vakil Member Defence Council	Shopian	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
44.	25.2.58	Ghulam Qadir Badru	Baramulla	President P.F.
45.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Shakhsaz	Hazratbal	
46.	"	Kh. Ghulam Mohd. Chikkan Ex-Director, Food Control.	Karan Nagar	During search his family was harassed. Inspite of protest, police entered the room where ladies were sitting
47.	"	Kh. Ghulam Mhoiuddin Hamdani, Vakil Member, Defence Council	Khanqah-Moulla	House searched and the police confiscated a licenced revolver.
48.	"	Mr. Mohiuddin Shah, Vakil, Member Defence Council	Bagh Maghar Mal	
49.	26.2.1958	Mirza Ghulam Mohd. Beg, Zaildar	Islamabad	
50.	"	Mirza Ghulam Qadir Beg	Islamabad	
51.	"	Mirza Yaqub Beg, lawyer	"	
52.	"	Saeed Ahmed	Narabal	
53.	"	Haji Mohuddin	Kalashpora	President, Teh. Srinagar PF
54.	"	Ghulam Ahmed	Ganderbal	Released
55.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Mast	H.S. High Street	Searched, arrested and released.
56.	"	Abdul Aziz Mir s/o Shaban	Sadrabal	Released

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
57.	26.2.58	Ali Md. Mir s/o Abdul Aziz	Sadarbal	Released
58.	"	Ghulam Qadir Mir s/o Amar Mir	"	Released
59.	"	Haji Abdul Saboor Wangnoo	Dalgate	
60.	"	Pir Md. Maqbool Yalgami	Yalgam	President, Teh. Handwara PF
61.	"	Pir Mohd. Yasin	Lalpora	Released
62.	"	Abdul Khaliq Nath	Redoni	
63.	"	Abdul Rashid Canai	Wakora, Ganderbal	Released
64.	"	Mohd. Ramzan	Dayalgam	
65.	"	Mohiuddin Rangrez	Kulgam	
66.	"	Habibullah Wage	Islamabad	
67.	"	Ghulam Md. Taxi Driver	Maisuma	Released
68.	"	Habibullah Alai, Vakil	Kulgam	
69.	"	Dr. Abdul Majid	Islamabad	Arrested at night while on his way to Islamabad from Srinagar
70.	"	Kh. Ghulam Rasool Kochak Member, Defence Council	Islamabad	
71.	"	Galla Butt	Pattan	
72.	"	Abdul Rashid Butt	Wakora, Ganderbal	
73.	"	Ali Mohammed	Jamalta	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
74.	26.2.58	Ghulam Nabi	Jamalta	
75.	"	Abdul Aziz Butt	Khanyar	Arrested on
76.	"	Wali Mohd. Ganai	Haratrat	25th at 12
77.	"	Ghulam Ahmed	Singhpura	o'clock in the night and brought to Srinagar
78.	"	Moulvi Abdul Rashid	Bona Makhama	
79.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Wani	Sanwara	
80.	"	Abdul Azam Ghazi	Bandagam	
81.	"	Abdul Majid	Ari Panthan	
82.	26/27-2-58	Saifuddin s/o Khizarshah	Bona Makhama	
83.	2 a.m.	Master Wali Malik	Pulwama	
84.	"	Ghulam Qadir	Niloora	
85.	"	Ghulam Qadir	Moran	
86.	"	Abdul Rahim	Ashmandar	
87.	"	Mohammed Ibrahim Tahab		
88.	27.2.58	Mohammed Ramzan	Islamabad	
89.	"	Ghulam Qadir	"	
90.	"	Chiragh Din Ahmed Driver	"	
91.	"	Ghulam Hassan Inqlabi	"	
92.	"	Ghulam Rasool Baghban	Fatehkadal	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
93.	28.2.58	Mohd. Subhan Butt Zaildar	Tral	
94.	"	Ali Mohammed Ragoo	Tral	
95.	"	Abdul Rahman Chodri	Tral	
96.	28.2.58	Ghulam Hassan Pahlwan	Islamabad	Their bail in some offence was cancell-
97.	"	Bashir Ahmed Beg	"	
98.	"	Mohd. Salim Beg	"	
99.	"	Ghulam Nabi Shakhsaz	"	ed and they were sent to jail.
100.	"	Abdul Samad Tanga	"	
101.	"	Abdul Ahad Butt	"	
102.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Butt	"	
103.	"	Mohd. Ramzan Butt	"	
104.	"	Abdul Aziz Karoo	"	
105.	"	Ghulam Waza	"	
106.	"	Mohd. Ismail Shala	"	Tooth broken while being beaten by police
107.	"	Abdul Quddoos	"	
108.	"	Habibullah Manjhal	"	
109.	"	Ghulam Nabi Sowra	"	
110.	"	Mohd. Khalil Johar	Bandipora	Arrested at Bandipora
111.	"	Ghulam Hassan Hajjam	Khanyar, Srinagar	
112.	"	Mohd. Abdullah Pal	Badgam	
113.	"	Amma Wani	Namchabal	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
114.	28.2.58	Ghulam Qadir Thokar	Safakadal	
115.	1.3.58	Abdul Ghafoor Gujri	Babapora	PF office-worker arrested at office.
116.	"	Mohd. Sultan Sheikh Rangrez	Karalakhud	"
117.	"	Ghulam Nabi Masgar	Khanqah Moulla	
118.	"	Ghulam Nabi Wani, ex-MLA	Badgam	President Badgam PF
119.	"	One more worker	"	
120.	"	Mohd. Sultan Dar	Gaokadal	
121.	"	Jalla Sana	Pathar Masjid	
122.	2.3.58	Ali Mohd. Driver	Saraibal	
123.	"	Ghulam Mohd. alias Maisuma Panda		
124.	3.3.58	Haji Mohd. Subhan	Dalgate	
125.	"	Mohd. Subhan Hajjam	"	Were making arrangements at the arrival of Sheikh Saheb. Arrested under sec. 107 and released at bails of Rs. 700/- each.
126.	"	Saeed Shah	Batmaloo	
127.	"	Shamsuddin Kapra	Kangan	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
128.	3.3.58	Khizar Mohammed	Dalgate	Arrested under sec. 107 and released at bails of Rs. 700/- each
129.	"	Mohammed Maqbool	"	
130.	"	Mohiuddin Darzi	Pandan	
131.	"	Ghulam Mohd, Dar	Bulbul-Lanker	
132.	"	Ghulam Mohammed	Batiyar	
133.	25.2.58	Ali Mohd. Lone s/o Hamza Lone	Saralawalo Badgam	Student. He was coming in connection with his exams when he was arrested on his way to Srinagar.
134.	26.2.58	Ali Mohd. Bulbul	Srinagar	
135.	"	Ali Mohammed	Srinagar	
136.	"	Ghulam Nabi Kar	Sikkadafar	
137.	"	Ghulam Qadir Kar	"	
138.	28.2.58	Mohd. Shah s/o Shaban Shah	Saujanpur, Srinagar	
139.	"	Abdul Rahim Gujri	Ghat Jogilankar, Srinagar	
140.	"	Ghulam Rasool Bagban	Fatehkadal	
141.	1.3.58	Ghulam Ahmed Malik	Pulwama	Arrested at 12 Noon in Pulwama Bazar and are still in Havalat.
142.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Khan	"	
143.	"	Mohd. Jamal wani	"	
144.	"	Mohd. Ismail Chat	"	
145.	1.3.58	Abdul Khaliq Magary	Pakhpura	"

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
146.	4.3.58	Ali Mohd. Matto	Naro Pulwama	Arrested in New Hami Public Meeting.
147.	"	Abdul Wahab Ganai	Barabal Pulwama	
148.	"	Abdul Ghani Dar	Ashmandar Pulwama	
149.	"	Habibullah Wani	Goso Pulwama	
150.	5.3.58	Ghulam Mohd. Band	Kachikot " Pulwama	Arrested jointly
151.	6.3.58	Malik Zada Abdul Hamid	Lam Kolagam	
152.	7.3.58	Ghulam Hasan Inqulabi	Islamabad	
153.	"	Sh. Mohd. Mansoor	Kachdor Kulgam	
154.	"	Abdul Razak Ganai	Kulgam	
155.	"	Ghulam Qadir Turay	"	
156.	"	Abdul Aziz Turay	"	
157.	"	Ghulam Qadir Turay	"	
158.	"	Chulam Mohd. Pir	"	
159.	"	Bakhtawar Malik	Narwav	
160.	"	Mohd. Abdullah	Bejbehara, Islamabad	
161.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Pandit	"	
162.	"	Ghulam Rasool Taizab	"	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
163.	7.3.58	Jalal-ud-din Hajam	Islamabad	
164.	"	Gul Mohd. Matto	"	
165.	"	Ghulam Rasool Hajam	"	
166.	"	Abdullah Dar	"	
167.	"	Habibullah Dar	Tala Khana	
168.	"	Abdul Ahad Butt	Kulgam	
169.	"	Mohd. Ismail Butt	Islamabad	
170.	"	Ghulam Jeelani	"	
171.	"	Ghulam Hasan	Karigam Wani	
172.	"	Ali Mohd. Ahangar	Karigam	
173.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Butt	"	
174.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Hajam	"	
175.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Butt	Kazi Gund	
176.	"	Ghulam Hasan Butt	"	
177.	"	Ali Mohd. Zargar	Panzat	
178.	"	Mohd. Jabbar Butt	Poz Kulgam	
179.	"	Wali Mohd. Butt	"	
180.	"	Anwar Wani	Chak Vangadar Islamabad	
181.	"	Mohd. Anwar Butt	Chhijkoṭ Pulwama	
182.	"	Abdul Khaliq Band	"	
183.	"	Abdul Ahad Wagge	Khasipura Pulwama	
184.	"	Ali Mohd. Hajam	Jharbal Pulwama	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
185.	7.3.58	Mohd. Abdullah	Kulgam	
186.	"	Pir Ghulam Hasan Shah	Shopian	
187.	"	Abdul Rehman Soofi	Pulwama	
188.	"	Ghulam Rasool Wani	"	Arrested before the Friday prayer and manhandled and are still in the Havalat.
189.	"	Mohd. Akbar Wami	"	
190.	"	Ghulam Moham-med Chat	Dangarpura Pulwama	
191.	"	Abdul Ahad Pandit	Awantipur Pulwama	Arrested before the Friday prayer.
192.	"	Mohd. Abdullah Pandit	Pulwama	
193.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Dar	"	
194.	"	Ghulam Rasool Dar	"	
195.	8.3.58	Kh. Ghulam Rasool Raina ex. M.L.A.	Arah Kulgam	Member, Defence Committee.
196.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Waza	Kulgam	
197.	"	Ali Mohd. Lone s/o Abdul Samad	"	
198.	"	Abdul Chani Ganai	Kulgam	
199.	"	Abdul Chani Khan	Kazigund	
		s/o Haji Musa		
200.	9.3.58	Kh. Ali Shah	Magarmalbagh	Chairman, P.F. Defence Committee.
201.	"	Pt. Raghunath Vai-shnavi	Residency Road	Chairman, Political Conf. and Secy. Defence Committee

(Contd.)

Call for Impartial Inquiry

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1	2	3	4	5
202.	9.3.58	Kh. Sadruddin Mujahid	Mujahid Manzil	Secy. P.F. and member Defe- nce Committee.
203.	"	Kh. Ghulam Ahmed Ashai	Rajbagh	Ex. Registrar J and K. Univer- sity and Mem- ber Defence Committee
204.	"	Kh. Habibullah Zargar	Zenakadal	Member, Defe- nce Committee.
205.	"	Kh. Mohd.	Bohrikadal Abdullah Lone	-do-
206.	"	Wali Mohd. Butt	Pulwama	Detained in Havaiat
207.	"	Ghulam Rasool Rathur	"	"
208.	"	Abdul Samad Mir	"	"
209.	10.3.58	Abdul Rehman	Rajpura, Pul- wama	Arrested for selling the book entitled "Why Plebiscite."
210.	"	Abdul Ahad	"	
211.	"	Abdul Rashid s/o Haji Lasajoo	Gaokadal, Srinagar	Student, S.P. College
212.	11.3.58	Maulana Mohd. Saeed Masoodi	Ganderbal	ex-M.P. and Ge- neral Secy. Nat- ional Confere- nce.
213.	13/14 March:	Haji Mohd. Ismail	K.M.D. Maisuma, Srinagar	
214.	"	Noor-ud-din Darzi	Karfali Mohalla	
215.	"	Ghulam Nabi, Cycle Merchant	Shalakadal	
216.	"	Abdul Rehman Panfarosh	Kanikadal	
217.	"	Mohd. Sadiq Shaksaz	Chota Bazar	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
218.	13/14 March	Shamsuddin s/o Nuruddin	Tankipura	Student, taken out from home in the night.
219.	"	Sona Ganai	Batmalu	
220.	"	Galla Sheikh	Kanikadal	
221.	"	Rishi Gujri	"	
222.	14/15 March:	Sadiq Ali Asir	Rainawari	Student, arrested when he was on his way to Srinagar in connection with his examination.
223.	"	Mr. Murtaza	Khaniyar	"
224.	"	Kh. Ghulam Mohd. Shala, Driver	Sopore	
225.	"	Ghulam Nabi Mulki	Bandipore	Arrested for collecting Funds
225A.	"	Sh. Abdul Rehman	Kauji Mohalla Lorry Stand	
226.	"	Mr. Hazari	Kaji Mohalla	
227.	"	Qalamdin	Chatta Gul-Kangan	
228.	15.3.58	Munshi Ghulam Mohiuddin Salathi	Srinagar	
229.	"	Chulam Hasan Misgar	Jamalhatta, Srinagar	
230.	"	Abdul Ahad Misgar	"	
231.	"	Ghulam Nabi Saraj	Navab Bazar	
232.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Dar	Bulbul Lankar	
233.	17.3.58	Ghulam Mohd. Darzi	Maharajbazar	Arrested for collecting Funds

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
234.	17.3.58	Noor Mohd. Muny- arifarosh	Mahraibazar	Arrested for collecting funds
235.	"	Noor Khan	Maharajbazer	"
236.	18.3.58	Amir-ud-din	Kalamdanpura	Both of them were beaten at Hamid Bakshi's place before they were arrested. They are still in Havalat.
237.	"	Mohiuddin Tiladooz	Safakadal	
238.	19.3..58	Ghulam Qadir Khan and 2 young boys		Released after beating on 20-3-58
239.	20.3.58	Mustafa Jan	Barbar Shah	
240.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Butt	Rainawari	
241.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Khan	Rainawari	
242.	"	Ghulam Hussain Gurmani	Khanyar	
243.	"	Mohd. Amin- Gorkhoo	Maharajganj	
244.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Compounder	Maharajganj	
245.	"	Ghulam Rasool- Shakhsaz	Khanyar	
246.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Masgar		
247.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Halwai	Khanqah Moulla	
248.	"	Ghulam Mohammed Chinkral Soofi	Mohalla	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
218.	13/14 March	Shamsuddin s/o Nuruddin	Tankipura	Student, taken out from home in the night.
219.	"	Sona Ganai	Batmalu	
220.	"	Galla Sheikh	Kanikadal	
221.	"	Rishi Gujri	"	
222.	14/15 March:	Sadiq Ali Asir	Rainawari	Student, arrested when he was on his way to Srinagar in connection with his examination.
223.	"	Mr. Murtaza	Khaniyar	"
224.	"	Kh. Ghulam Mohd. Shala, Driver	Sopore	
225.	"	Ghulam Nabi Mulki	Bandipore	Arrested for collecting Funds
225A.	"	Sh. Abdul Rehman	Kauji Mohalla Lorry Stand	
226.	"	Mr. Hazari	Kaji Mohalla	
227.	"	Qalamdin	Chatta Gul-Kangan	
228.	15.3.58	Munshi Ghulam Mohiuddin Salathi	Srinagar	
229.	"	Ghulam Hasan Misgar	Jamalhatta, Srinagar	
230.	"	Abdul Ahad Misgar	"	
231.	"	Ghulam Nabi Saraj	Navab Bazar	
232.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Dar	Bulbul Lankar	
233.	17.3.58	Ghulam Mohd. Darzi	Maharajbazar	Arrested for collecting Funds

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
234.	17.3.58	Noor Mohd. Munyarifarosh	Mahraibazar	Arrested for collecting funds
235.	"	Noor Khan	Maharajbazer	"
236.	18.3.58	Amir-ud-din	Kalamdanpura	Both of them were beaten at Hamid Bakshi's place before they were arrested. They are still in Havalat.
237.	"	Mohiuddin Tiladooz	Safakadal	
238.	19.3.58	Ghulam Qadir Khan and 2 young boys		Released after beating on 20-3-58
239.	20.3.58	Mustafa Jan	Barbar Shah	
240.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Butt	Rainawari	
241.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Khan	Rainawari	
242.	"	Ghulam Hussain Gurmani	Khanyar	
243.	"	Mohd. Amin-Gorkhoo	Maharajganj	
244.	"	Ghulam Mohd. Compounder	Maharajganj	
245.	"	Ghulam Rasool-Shakhsaz	Khanyar	
246.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Masgar		
247.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Halwai	Khanqah Moulla	
248.	"	Ghulam Mohammed Chinkral Soofi	Mohalla	

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
249.	20.3.58	Ghulam Qadir Gujri	Chinkral Mohalla	
250.	"	Ghulam Hassan Najjar	Safakadal	
251.	"	Ghulam Ahmed Shah	Khanqah Moulla	
252.	"	Peer Abdul Ghani	Lolab Valley	
253.	21.3.58	Haji Mohd. Subhan	"	
254.	"	Ghulam Mohammed Dimbo	Maharajganj	
255.	"	Ghulam Hassan Misgar	"	

24

Government of Jammu and Kashmir

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ABOLITION OF BIG LANDED ESTATES AND THEIR TRANSFER TO ACTUAL TILLERS

Act No. XVII of 2007
(As amended by Act No. XV of 2008)

Whereas no lasting improvement in agricultural production and efficiency is possible without the removal of intermediaries between the tiller of the soil and the state;

And whereas for the achievement of this objective it is expedient to provide for the abolition of such proprietors as own big landed estates and to transfer the land held by them to the actual tillers;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers vested under section 5 of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act 1996, read with the proclamation issued by His Highness and published in the Extra-ordinary issue of the Government Gazette dated the 7th Har, 2006, Shree Yuvaraj Karansinghji Bahadur is pleased to enact as follows :

1. Short title, extent and commencement—(1) This Act may be called the Jammu and Kashmir Big Land Estates Abolition Act, 2007.

- (2) It shall extend to the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State.
- (3) It shall come into force from the date it is published in the Government Gazette.
2. Definitions— In this act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—
- (a) “land” means land which is occupied or has been let for agricultural purposes or for purposes sub-servient to agriculture, or for pasture, and includes—
- (i) the sites of buildings and other structures on such land;
 - (ii) trees standing on such land;
 - (iii) areas covered by or fields floating over water;
 - (iv) sites of jandars and gharats; and
 - [*(v) forest lands and wooded wastes;*] but does not include the site of any building in a town or village abadi or any land appurtenant to such building or site;
- (b) “proprietor” means a person owning the land, and includes—
- (i) an inferior land-owner;
 - (ii) a person who is recorded as Qabiz in respect of the holding of Gair Hazir or Gair Qabiz in the revenue record; and
 - (iii) the successor in interest of a proprietor;*
- (c) “prescribed” means prescribed by rules made under this Act;
- (d) “tiller” means a person who tills land with his own hands, and with reference to the land held by a proprietor has, on the date of the commencement of this Act, been in cultivating possession of such land

and includes a tenant who, after 1st Baisakh, 2004, has been ejected otherwise than in due course of law or has ceased to cultivate the land owing to reasons beyond his control; but does not include—

- (a) a trespasser;
 - (b) a servant who is paid in cash or kind for his services;
 - (c) a person who is not the actual beneficiary; and
 - (d) a hired labourer; and
 - (e) words and expressions not defined in this Act shall have the meaning assigned to them in the Jammu and Kashmir Land Revenue Act, 1996, the Jammu and Kashmir Tenancy Act, 1980, and the Code of Civil Procedure, 1977.
3. Act not to apply to certain lands.—Nothing in this Act shall apply to—
- (a) any land which is occupied as the site of a town or village and is not assessed to land revenue;
 - (b) any revenue-paying land occupied, used or transferred after the Samvat year (1990) for building purposes situate in an area declared as a Municipality or Notified Area under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Municipal Act for the time being in force, or a cantonment under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Cantonment Act, 1991, or a Town Area under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Town Area Act for the time being in force, or in an area in which a town planning scheme is sanctioned under the Jammu and Kashmir Town Planning Act, 1977, or in such villages in the vicinity of a city or town as are specified by the Government; and

(c) any land owned by the State or any department of the State or any local body or a Cooperative Society registered under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Cooperative Societies Act, 1933, other than land which was owned by a person declared as an enemy agent and has since been forfeited to His Highness under the Enemy Agents (Confiscation of Property) Ordinance, 2004.

4. Extinction of the right of ownership in certain lands—

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force, the right of ownership held by a proprietor in land other than land mentioned in sub-section (2) shall, subject to the other provisions of this Act, extinguish and cease to vest in him from the date this Act comes into force:

[Provided that the right of ownership held by a proprietor in land covered by sub-clause (v) of clause (a) of section 2 shall extinguish and cease to vest in him from the date the Big Landed Estates Abolition (Amendment) Act, 2008, is published in the Government Gazette, and such proprietor shall have the right to exchange such land with the unit of land for which he has exercised his right of selection under clause (a) of sub-section (2)]—

(2) Extinction of the right of ownership under sub-section (1) shall not apply to—

(a) unit of land not exceeding 182 kanals including residential sites, Bedzars and Safedzars;

(b) Kah Krisham areas, Araks, Kaps and (such lands including those used for raising fuel or fodder, as are unculturable); and

(c) orchards;

Provided that the Government may dispose of the lands mentioned in clause (b) in such manner as may be recommended by the committee that shall be set up for this purpose.

- (3) Every proprietor, and in case of a proprietor who is an evacuee as defined in the Jammu and Kashmir State Evacuee's (Administration of Property) Act, 2006, the Custodian shall have the option, subject to the provisions of section 14, to select the land mentioned in clause (a) of sub-section (2).
5. Transfer of land to tillers— (1) Ownership rights of such land of a proprietor of which the right of ownership is extinguished under section 4 and of land (other than orchards) that was owned by a person declared as an enemy agent and has since been forfeited to His Highness under the Enemy Agents (Confiscation of Property) Ordinance, 2004, shall be transferred to the tillers of such land to the extent of their actual possession in Kharif, 2007:

Provided that no tiller shall, with the land so transferred and that which he already owns, possess more than 160 kanals in ownership right:

Provided further that no land shall be transferred to such tillers as are not State Subjects as defined in the Judicial Department Notification No. 1-L/84, dated the 20th April, 1927:

Provided also that no land shall be transferred to such tiller of the land owned by a proprietor who is an evacuee as defined in the Jammu and Kashmir State Evacuee's (Administration of Property) Act, 2006, as was not a tenant of such land prior to Rabi, 2004.

- (2) The tiller to whom land is transferred under sub-section (1), shall be liable to pay land revenue and other dues for the time being in

force with respect to such land and shall also pay a special cess to be called the "Land Development Cess" at such rate as is determined by the Government under rules.

- (3) The transfer of ownership under sub-section (1) shall not affect the joint liability of the entire estate or of the land-holders thereof, for the revenue payable after such transfer in respect of the land in cases where under Section 54 of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, such liability exists.
- [(4) The land revenue to the payment of which the lands transferred shall be liable, shall be reckoned at village revenue rates and where no such rates by classes of soil are available or where such rates are found to be lower than those obtaining in any of the village or villages adjoining the village in which the lands so transferred are situate, at such rates as may be sanctioned by the Revenue Minister, and shall be deemed as if it were fixed under Chapter VI of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, and as if the land so transferred had been settled with the tillers to whom lands are transferred:

Provided that the village revenue rates sanctioned by the Revenue Minister shall in no case exceed the highest Bachh rates adopted during the last Settlement for the same classes of soil in the villages within the Assessment Circle in which the lands so transferred are included.]

- (5) Nothing in this section shall preclude the Government, at any time, to revise the quantum of land transferred to the tillers, and when such revision is made the land left with or transferred to the tillers shall be deemed, as if it had been transferred under the provisions

of this section and to which all the provisions of this Act shall apply.

6. Lands of which there are no tillers—
 - (1) (a) All lands of which the right of ownership is extinguished under section 4 and which are not in the cultivating possession of or cannot, under the provisions of section 5, be transferred to, any tiller; and
(b) all lands which were owned by persons declared as enemy agents and have since been forfeited to his Highness under the Enemy Agents (Confiscation of Property) Ordinance, 2004, and are not in the cultivating possession of, or cannot, under the provisions of section 5, be transferred to, any tiller, shall vest in the States from the date of the commencement of this Act.
(2) The lands mentioned in sub-section (1) may be utilised in such manner as the Government decide, or the Government may in respect of the lands mentioned in clause (a) of sub-section (1) permit the ex-proprietor to retain possession of the land, subject to such terms and conditions as are settled by the Revenue Minister or an officer authorised by him in this behalf.
(3) The permission to retain possession as contemplated by sub-section (2) shall create no right or title in such land, and notwithstanding anything contained in any enactment for the time being in force, the Revenue Minister, or an Officer authorised by him in this behalf, may fix any rent for the use and occupation of such land:

Provided that such rent shall in no case be less than the land revenue assessed at village rates plus cesses and other

dues that were paid by such ex-proprietor immediately before the date the right of ownership of such land was extinguished.

7. Description of Lands owned by a proprietor.—For purposes of sub-section (1) of section 4, the land owned by a proprietor shall include—

- (i) lands of any class held or acquired in ownership by the proprietor;
- (ii) Shamilat lands held by the proprietor to the extent of his share, whether amalgamated with and entered in his ownership holding as a result of partition or entered in his name under an undivided Shamilat holding;
- (iii) lands mortgaged with or without possession or leased out by the proprietor;
- (iv) lands owned by the proprietor which have been transferred or let in farm under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Land Revenue Act, 1996, for the recovery of an arrear of land revenue or of a sum recoverable as such an arrear which had accrued in respect of such lands; and
- (v) lands which after the date of the commencement of the Land Alienation (Temporary Powers) Restriction Ordinance, 2005, in the Kashmir Province and after the date of the commencement of the Jammu Province Land Alienation (Temporary Powers) Restriction Ordinance, 2006, in the Province of Jammu, have, without any valid authority, been transferred by the proprietor by sale, gift, bequest, [xxx]—family settlement or exchange other than an exchange made for the purpose of consolidation of holdings:

Provided that such exchanges as have been acted upon and are agreed to by the parties, shall, notwithstanding

anything contained in the Ordinances aforementioned and in section 138 of the Transfer of Property Act, 1997, be deemed to be valid transfers:

Provided further that every transfer or partition made or declaration for title or possession granted by an order or decree of any court after 1st Baisakh, 2005, shall be deemed to be void and shall not be given effect to, if for reasons to be recorded in writing, an Assistant Collector of the 1st Class, acting under the provisions of this Act, considers such transfer or partition or declaration not to have been made bona fide or to have been made with a view to defeat the provisions of this Act.

8. Disputes relating to the description or the area of the aggregate land— (1) If a proprietor or tiller were to dispute the correctness of the description or the area of any land referred to in section 7 held by him he may, within two months of the date of the commencement of this Act, prefer an application on a court fee stamp of Rs. 2 to such officer as is appointed by the Revenue Minister in this behalf and file with it all the relevant record on which he relies in support of his claim.
(2) The officer so appointed shall, after such inquiry as he deems necessary, record his decision in the case.
9. Consequences of transfer. — When land has been transferred under the provisions of section 5, then, notwithstanding anything contained in any contract or in any law for the time being in force, and save as otherwise provided in this Act, the consequences as hereinafter set forth shall, from the beginning of the date of such transfer, ensue in such land, namely:
 - (a) all rights, title and interest of the proprietor in such land including trees, wells (other than private wells), tanks, ponds, water channels

- or khuls and pathways, except right in any water-mill or jandar, shall cases and be vested in the tiller free from all encumbrances;
- (b) all arrears of revenue, cesses or other dues payable under any enactment or Government order or rule for the time being in force and all outstanding Taccavi loans in respect of any land so transferred and due from the proprietor for any period prior to the date of transfer shall be remitted;
 - (c) notwithstanding anything in any law or document all grants and confirmation of title of or to land so transferred or of or to any right or privilege in respect of such land or its land revenue, shall terminate;
 - (d) the interest of the proprietor in any land so transferred shall not be liable to attachment or sale in execution of any decree or other process of any court, civil or revenue, and any attachment existing at the date of transfer or any order for attachment passed before such date shall cease to be in force;
 - (e) all suits and proceedings pending in any court at the date of transfer of land, and all proceedings upon any decree or order passed in any such suit or proceeding previous to the date of transfer shall, in respect of any interest in the land so transferred be stayed.
10. Lands mortgaged or leased out by the Proprietor.—Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained when any land, of which the right of ownership is extinguished under the provisions of section 4, is found to have been mortgaged or leased by the proprietor, it shall, subject to the other provisions of this Act, be transferred to the tiller in the following manner, namely:—

- (a) in case such land is in the personal cultivation of the tiller who is also a mortgagee or a lessee, it shall vest in him in ownership right free from other encumbrances, if any, and the mortgage or lease, as the case may be, shall terminate; and
 - (b) in case such land is not in the personal cultivation of the mortgagee or the lessee it shall be transferred to the tillers thereof in ownership right free from all encumbrances, and the encumbrances on such land shall be shifted to the estate of which the ownership right of the proprietor is left intact under sub-section (2) of section 4, as if the same land had been mortgaged or leased by the proprietor to the mortgagee or the lessee, as the case may be.
11. Lands transferred or let in farm in default of payment of land revenue.—(1) when any land of which the right of ownership is extinguished under the provisions of section 4, is found to have been transferred or let in farm under the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Land Revenue Act, 1996, for the recovery of an arrear of land revenue or of a sum recoverable as such an arrear which had accrued in respect of that land, it shall, if the transferee or the lessee be a tiller in actual cultivating possession of such land, be transferred to him in ownership right subject to the payment by such tiller of any arrears of land revenue or any dues or sums which he may be liable to pay in accordance with the conditions upon which the land was so transferred or let in farm to him.
- (2) If such transferee or lessee is not in actual cultivating possession of land it shall, subject to payment to him of such compensation as is

determined by an officer specially authorised by the Revenue Minister in this behalf, be transferred in ownership right to the actual tillers thereof.

- (3) Compensation under sub-section (2) shall be payable by the tillers to whom land is transferred in ownership right in such manner as may be prescribed.
12. Authority to implement transfer:— At any time after the commencement of this Act it shall be lawful for the Revenue Minister or any office appointed by him in this behalf—
- (a) to take or cause to be taken such steps and use or cause to be used such force as may in the opinion of the Revenue Minister or the officer so appointed, be necessary to implement the transfer of land to tillers as provided in section 5 or the vesting in the State of the ownership of lands as provided in sub-section (1) of section 6;
 - (b) to enter upon and search any land, building or other place forming part of any land transferred under the provisions of this act and make a survey or take measurement thereof or do any other act which he considers necessary for carrying out the purposes of this Act;
 - (c) to require any person to produce to such authority as may be specified, any books, accounts or other documents relating to any land or part thereof and to furnish to such authority such other information as may be specified or demanded; and
 - (d) if the books, accounts and other documents are not produced as required, to enter upon

any land, building or other place and seize and take possession of such books, accounts and other documents.

13. Private wells, water-mills and buildings to belong to the existing owner thereof.—All private wells, water-mills, jandars and all buildings situate within the lands transferred under the provisions of section 5 or vested in the State under the provisions of section 6, belonging to or held by the proprietor whether residing in the village or not, shall continue to belong to or be held by such proprietor and he shall also be entitled to all easements with respect to enjoyment thereof.
14. Demarcation of land left with proprietors.— (1) An Assistant Collector of the 1st Class or any other officer to below the rank of a Tehsildar authorized by the Revenue Minister in this behalf shall, as soon as may be after this Act comes into force, serve a notice on the proprietor, and in the case of a proprietor who is an evacuee as defined in the Jammu and Kashmir State Evacuees' (Administration of Property) Act, 2006, on the Custodian to select the land mentioned in clause (a) of sub-section (2) of section 4 and intimate to him the Khasra numbers and the area thereof within such period as may be specified and shall—
 - (a) if such proprietor complies with the notice, direct that the lands so selected be immediately demarcated on spot; and
 - (b) in case such proprietor fails to comply with the notice, himself reserve the land for such proprietor, and the land so reserved shall be deemed as if it had been selected by such proprietor himself.

[(2) The order passed under sub-section (1) shall be communicated to such proprietor.]

15. Procedure for making records.—The transfer of land under section 5 shall be recorded in the same manner in which the acquisition of any interest in land is recorded under Chapter IV of the Land Revenue Act, 1996.
16. Determination of disputes.—(1) If during the making, revision or preparation of any record or in the course of any inquiry under this Act a dispute arises as to any matter of which an entry is to be made in a record or in a register of mutations, a revenue officer not below the rank of an Assistant Collector of the 1st Class may, of his own motion, or on the application of any party interested, and after such inquiry as he thinks fit, determine the entry to be made as to that matter.
 - (2) If in any such dispute the revenue officer is unable to satisfy himself as to which of the parties there to is in possession of any property to which the dispute relates, he shall ascertain by inquiry who is the person [who has remained in actual possession for a longer ration within the period between Rabi, 2005, and 1st Katik, 2007,] and shall by order direct that person be put in possession thereof, and an entry in accordance with that order be made in the record or register.
17. Presumption regarding entries in the records-of-rights and annual records.—Subject to the provisions of sections 18 & 19, every entry in the record-of-rights or annual record prepared or revised under the provisions of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, shall, unless the contrary is proved, be deemed to describe correctly the right, title and interest of every proprietor in the land to which it relates:

Provided that any modification, alteration or correction made in the record-of-rights or annual record, whether before

or after the date of the commencement of this Act under the provisions of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, or as a consequence of any decree or order of any court, shall be taken into account.

18. Correction of clerical error or arithmetical mistake in the records.—Notwithstanding anything contained in the Land Revenue Act, 1996, or any other law for the time being in force, if a revenue officer not below the rank of an Assistant Collector of the 1st Class is satisfied that a clerical or arithmetical mistake or error apparent on the face of the record exists in the record-of-rights or in annual record, he may, either on his own motion or on the application of any person interested, correct the same.
19. Application for correction of records. —(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Land Revenue Act, 1996, or any other law of the time being in force, any person who claiming to be entitled, as proprietor, to any interest in any land, disputes any entry in the record-of-rights or in an annual record or claims any omission therefrom, may, within three months from the date of commencement of this Act, apply in writing to a revenue officer not below the rank of an Assistant Collector of the 1st Class for the modification, correction and alteration of the entries in the record-of-rights or in any annual record by entering his name therein or omitting the name of any person therefrom or otherwise.
(2) The Revenue Officer before whom the application under sub-section (1) is presented shall, after notice to the persons whose names exist in the record-of-rights or in any annual record and to any other person to whom notice in his opinion should be given, hear or dispose of the application in the prescribed manner, determine the nature and extent of the interest of the applicant and modify, correct

or alter the record-of-rights or the annual records accordingly.

20. Interest of a proprietor or tiller not transferable and relinquishment by a proprietor or tiller. [(1) Except as otherwise provided for in this Act, no tiller to whom land has been transferred under the provisions of section 5, and no proprietor, shall transfer land or any interest therein, without the previous permission of the Government, and an instrument purporting to transfer land or any interest therein without such permission shall not be admitted to registration:

Provided that no permission shall be granted where the holding of a self-cultivating proprietor or tiller is more than two acres, but less than twelve acres.]

- (2) (a) A proprietor, or a tiller, to whom land has been transferred under the provisions of section 5, may at any time apply in writing to the Revenue Minister for permission to relinquish all or any of the land held by him in ownership right in favour of the State.
- (b) The Revenue Minister may, after such enquiry as he may deem necessary, accept such application and notwithstanding any law for the time being in force in this respect relinquishment of rights in such land and transfer thereof in favour of the State shall have effect from the beginning of the year next following.
21. Transfer is contravention of the Act.—Transfer of an holding or part thereof in contravention of the provisions of this Act shall be void.
22. Omitted vide Act XV of 2008.
23. Omitted vide Act XV of 2008.

24. Extinction of the interest of a proprietor or tiller.—If a proprietor, or a tiller, to whom land has been transferred under the provisions of section 5—

- (a) dies intestate leaving no heir entitled to inherit, or
- (b) transfers his land or part thereof, or any interest therein in contravention of the provisions of this Act, or
- (c) being a tiller sublets for two successive harvests the land so transferred to him,

his right of ownership in the land held by him or part thereof shall be extinguished and such land or part thereof shall escheat to Government.

25. Limit of the holding of a proprietor.—Save as otherwise provided for in this Act, no proprietor shall at any time hold more than 182 kanals of land [excluding land mentioned in clauses (b) and (c) of sub-section (2) of section 4] in ownership right and no tiller to whom land has been transferred under the provisions of section 5, shall at any time hold more than 160 kanals of land in ownership right and any interest or right in land devolving upon such proprietor or tiller by custom or under any law for the time being in force shall, to the extent that it exceeds 182 kanals [excluding land mentioned in clauses (b) & (c) of sub-section (2) of section 4] or 160 kanals, as the case may be, extinguished and shall escheat to Government.

26. Payment to the Proprietors.—There shall, until the Constituent Assembly of the State settles the question of compensation with respect to the land from which expropriation has taken place under this Act, be paid by the Government to every proprietor who has been expropriated from any land under the

provisions of this Act, an annuity in the following manner, namely:—

- (a) for the first year after expropriation an amount equal to 3/4th of the land revenue assessed on the land from which expropriation has taken place;
- (b) for the 2nd year 2/3rd of such land revenue; and
- (c) for the 3rd and subsequent years 1/2 of such land revenue:

Provided that the amount so payable shall not in any case exceed a sum of Rs. 3,000 per annum:

Provided further that no such amount shall be payable in respect of any area held or appropriated by the proprietor from lands recorded as Shamiat-Deh.

27. Creation of Land Development Fund.—The Government shall create a Land Development Fund to which all income derived from the Land Development Cess, referred to in sub-section (2) of section 5, shall be credited, and which shall be utilised for rehabilitating the tillers and in making improvements on lands transferred under the provisions of section 5 or such other lands as may be specified by the Government from time to time.
28. Powers of revenue officers.—Except where the class of the revenue officer by whom any function is to be discharged is specified in this Act, the Government may, by notification, determine the function to be discharged under this Act by any class of revenue officers.
29. [Power of the Government to grant annuity or land in ownership to tenure-holders.—The Government may apportion and allocate a portion of the annuity payable to the proprietor under section 26 to those

tenure-holders whose rights have been terminated under the provisions of section 9 and to whom no lands are transferred under section 5, in such manner as may be prescribed:

Provided that the apportionment of annuity between the superior land-owners and inferior land-owners, or inferior land-owners and occupancy tenants, or occupancy tentants of different grades, shall be made in proportion to the existing rents obtaining inter se:

Provided further that the Government may, notwithstanding anything contained in this Act or any other Act for the time being in force, transfer in ownership right a part of the land of which the right of ownership is extinguished under sub-section (1) of section 4 to occupancy tenants in such proportion as may be fixed.]

29.A. Termination of the right of non-cultivating tenure-holders in lands left with the proprietors.—The Government may, in respect of the land of which the right of ownership is not extinguished under the provisions of this Act, terminate the right or interest of non-cultivating tenure-holders in such manner as may be prescribed.

29.B. Revision of assessment on orchards and seed farms.— Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act and in Chapter VI of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, the Government may revise the land revenue assessed on orchards and seed farms above 4 kanals:

Provided that such revenue shall not exceed the highest assessment rates of arable lands in the State.]

30. Appeal and Revision.—(1) Save as otherwise provided by this Act, an appeal from an order or decision of a revenue officer shall lie to such officer of or above the rank of a Collector as is appointed by

the Government in this behalf and no further appeal shall lie.

(2) The Revenue Minister may—

- (a) transfer any case or matter pending before any revenue officer for trial or disposal to any other officer having jurisdiction and being under his administrative control;
- (b) at any time call for the record of any case pending before, or disposed of by, any revenue officer subordinate to him and pass such order as he thinks fit.

(3) The period of limitation for an appeal under sub-section (1) shall run from the date of the order appealed against, and shall be 60 days:

Provided that in the districts of Ladakh, Gilgit, Rajouri Poonch and Doda and the Niabat of Arnas in the Reasi Tehsil of the Udhampur district, twice the ordinary period of limitaton for appeals under this section shall be allowed.

30.A. Persons by whom appearances may be made before and to Revenue officers.—In the matter of appearances before a revenue officer and applications to and acts to be done before him, under this Act, the provisions of section 16 of the Land Revenue act, 1996, shall apply:

Provided that when an appellate or revisional authority is holding office in a province other than the one to which an appeal or revison pertains, such appeal or revision may be presented before a revenue officer for transmission of the case of the appellant or the applicant, as the case may be, to such appellate or revisional authority.

31. General application of Land Revenue Act.— Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the provisions of the Land Revenue Act, 1996, shall, so

- far as may be, apply to all the proceedings taken under this Act.
32. Bar to jurisdiction of Civil or Revenue Courts.—No suit or other proceedings shall lie in any civil or revenue court in respect of any order or concerning any matter which is subject of any proceedings taken under sections 4,5,6,8,10,11,12,14,26,27 and 29 of this Act.
33. Protection of action taken under this Act.—(1) No suit, prosecution or other proceeding shall lie without the previous sanction of the Government against any person for any act done or purporting to be done under this Act or any rule made thereunder.
- (2) No officer or servant of the Government shall be liable in respect of any such act in any civil or criminal proceeding, if the Act was done in good faith and in the course of execution of the duties, or the discharge of functions, imposed by or under this Act.
- (3) No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Government for any damage caused or likely to be caused or any injury suffered or likely to be suffered by virtue of any provisions of this Act or by anything in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Act or any rule made thereunder.
34. Power of the Revenue Minister in case any difficulty arises —If any difficulty arises as to the implementation of or in adjusting the right and liabilities of proprietors or tillers under any of the provisions of this Act, the Revenue Minister may, by order do or authorise doing of anything not inconsistent with this Act which appears to him to be necessary for the removal of any such difficulty.

35. Power of the Government to delegate authority.—The Government may, by notification in the Government Gazette, delegate any of its functions or powers under this Act to the Revenue Minister or any other officer of the Government specified in such notification.
36. Transfer of lands in the interest of development or otherwise—The Government may authorise the Revenue Minister to permit transfer of land in areas which are being or are likely to be developed as health resorts or trade or commercial centres in accordance with rules that shall be made in this behalf.
37. Powers of Revenue Officers—A Revenue Officer under this Act, shall have the same powers as a civil court to enforce the attendance of witnesses, to call for documents, to take evidence on oath, to issue commission and to punish contempts.
38. Penalty—(1) If any person in any proceeding under this Act—
 - (a) intentionally makes any false statement during the course of such proceeding; [or]
 - (b) intentionally produces before any revenue officer any false document; or
 - (c) files a statement which is false or incorrect to his knowledge;

he shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000 or with both.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, no court shall take cognizance of an offence under this section unless a complaint in this behalf is made by the officer before whom such proceedings were taking place.

39. Power to issue instructions.—The Revenue Minister may, for the guidance of the revenue officers, from time to time, issue executive instructions relating to all matters to which the provisions of this Act apply, provided that such instructions shall be consistent with the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder.
40. Power to make rules.—(1) The Government may make rules for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.
 - (2) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing powers such rules may provide for—
 - (a) the establishment, constitution and the terms of reference of the Committee appointed under provision to sub-section (2) of section 4 and the manner in which the recommendation made by such committee may be implemented;
 - (b) the adjustment of lands transferred to the tillers to the extent of 160 kanals under sub-section(1) of section 5;
 - (c) the rate and the manner of the levy of the "Land Development Cess" under sub-section (2) of section 5;
 - (d) the revision of quantum of land transferred to tillers under sub-section (5) of section 5;
 - (e) the manner in which lands vested in the State may be utilised and the terms and conditions on which lands may be occupied by the ex-proprietors under sub-section (2) of section 6;
 - (f) the manner in which applications under section 8 may be made and disposed of;

- (g) the adjustment of remission of land revenue and Taccavi arrears and the disposal of suits and proceedings stayed under section 9;
 - (h) the determination and the method of payment of compensation under sub-section (3) of section 11;
 - (i) the manner in which the provisions of section 12 may be carried into effect;
 - (j) the manner in which notice may be issued and other proceedings taken [under section 14];
 - (k) the procedure for and the manner in which permission may be granted to a proprietor or a tiller to transfer or relinquish land under section 20;
 - (l) the manner of determining and the method of payment of annuity to proprietors under section 26;
 - (m) the determination of the class of lands which may be improved by the [Land Development Fund] under section 07 and the manner in which the Land Development Fund may be constituted, operated upon and utilised;
 - (n) the manner in which the interests of tenure-holders may be adjusted under section 29;
 - (o) the matters which are to be and may be prescribed; and
 - (p) the matters required generally for carrying out the purpose of this act.
- (3) All rules made under this Act shall be published in the Government Gazette, and shall unless some later date is appointed, come into force on the date of such publication.

41. Repeal.— The Land Alienation (Temporary Powers) Restriction Ordinance, 2005, and the Jammu Province Land Alienation (Temporary Powers) Restriction Ordinance, 2006, shall be repealed.
42. Legalisation of orders passed previous to the Act.— Any Act done or order passed by the Government or by any Revenue Officer on or after 13th July, 1950, which is not contrary to the provisions of this Act, shall be deemed to have been done or passed under this act.

12th October, 1950

(Sd/-) KARAN SINGH YUVARAJ

Published for general information

(Sd/-) R.L. NAGPAL

Secretary to Prime Minister



25

Rules for Grant of Land on the Karbathang Canal

JK 192/1-9 of 1908

1. *Name of the Colony:* The colony will be called "Sri Pratap Colony" in honour of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.
2. *Survey and Demarcation of Lands:* The lands on the Karbathang Canal will be surveyed and marked out into separate squares of 120 Karams each. This will be split up into 9 sub-squares of uniform size on the Killa bandi systems every such sub-square measuring . . . 40 x 40 Karams and leaving a margin of one Karam round each sub-square for compulsory tree planting, path and water-courses, there will be a balance of almost exactly one acre for cultivation. Further submission of these sub-squares will be left to the convenience and discretion of cultivators.

As far as practicable the water courses will follow the sides of squares.

3. *Area of each allotment :* One square will usually be allotted to each colonist but if a sufficient number of qualified colonists is not forthcoming larger grants may be made to big land owners.
4. *Qualifications of Colonists :* (i) A qualified colonist must have the following qualifications :

- (a) he must be a well conducted and bonafide agriculturist of Tehsil Kargil or Skardu and fit to cultivate land with his own hands;
 - (b) He must have at least one plough bullocks and other means to bring the land under cultivation and to arrange for cultivation of the holding already owned by him;
 - (c) his present holding should not exceed the general average of the Illaqa to which he belongs;
 - (d) grants will usually be made to cultivators with some holding but a few squares may be given at the discretion of the colonization officer to men of the local yeomen class ... in view of their services in connection with settlement and construction of the canal.
- (ii) Subject to above provisions preference will be given to:
- (a) Cultivators of villages connected with Treaty Road for revenues purposes.
 - (b) Cultivators who have rendered assistance at the construction of the Karbathang canal.
5. *Grant of Taccavi to Colonists* : An attempt will be made to procure self-supporting colonists but if grant of taccavi loans for purchase of seed or plough bullocks etc., becomes necessary, the matter will be separately reported and decided hereafter.
6. *Distribution of Land for Fodder* : In addition to grants referred to in rule 3, a certain amount of area will be granted to each colonist for cultivation of lucerne locally called up. An area limit for this land will be laid down after ascertaining extent of irrigable slopes and the wishes of the Zamindars on the spot.

7. *Village Sites* : As the Zamindars will prefer to have their houses in their separate squares, no rules are required regarding village sites and enclosures but in consultation with colonists it will be desirable to indicate sites for houses so as to bring the hamlets in a line and add to the beauty of the colony.
8. *Construction and Maintenance of the Canal and Water Courses* : (i) The canal as well as its main branches along the different plateau and a storage tank if necessary will be constructed by the State. But small water courses to run water from field to field will have to be cut by the colonists themselves.
 - (ii) In view of the concession that no separate abiana will be levied on the lands in the colony the colonists will be required to run the canal by executing the annual cleaning and ordinary repairs under the supervision of the Tehsil officials, their joint responsibility in this behalf being regulated by the old established custom of the country.
 - (iii) Proposals will be submitted later on for the appointment of a Mirab to see to the necessary repairs to the canal and water courses and the distribution of water. Riwaj-i-abpashi will be prepared for the guidance of the Mirab and the colonists.
 - (iv) But in case of any extraordinary or serious accident damaging the canal to the extent beyond the power of the colonists to repair, arrangement will be made to execute the special repairs by the State, the colonists only supplying manual labour.
9. *Commencement of Possession* : For the purposes of revenue, the possession of a colonist will be counted from the harvest the crops of which can reasonably

be sown after the land has actually been made over to the colonist.

10. *Concession Period* : The colonists will hold their lands revenue free for the first two years of their possession after which full revenue will have to be paid.
11. *Exemption from Revenues* : For the full five years from the commencement of their possession the colonists will be exempted from revenues (This is a compulsory system obtaining in this locality under which the villagers have to attend to the point and other requirements of a Parao). At the end of this period they will have to supply revenues in accordance with orders passed by competent authority.
12. *Assessment of Revenue* : (i) The assessment will be proposed by the colonization officer at the end of the concession period on the basis of experience gained of the out-turn of the land during this period.
 (ii) For the purposes of these rules the Settlement Officer, Ladakh, will be colonization officer of the colony.
 (iii) The revenue in kind will be counted at the same rate as that prevailing for the time being in the rest of the Kargil Tehsil.

Kind revenue will be realised in wheat and grain only the ration thereof being fixed at the time of assessment in proportion to the out-turn of each staple.

In view, however, of the expenditure incurred by the state and heavy grain requirements of the district, the ration of kind to cash revenue may be taken at a higher figure than that prevailing in the country. Definite proposals will be submitted later on by the colonization officer.

13. No separate abiana to be levied.

The colonists will not be required to pay abiana in addition to the revenue and rates fixed under rule 12.

Note : The expenditure borne by the State in the construction of the canal and the nature of irrigation will be borne in mind by the assessing officer but it is impossible to work out a Khushki Parta and abiana separately for the district where cultivation is possible without irrigation. Also it is necessary to have fixed demand and it will be a gross mistake to levy rates on crops grown which will subject the cultivators to serious harassment from low paid Patwar agency.

14. *Plantation of Trees by Colonists :* (i) The colonists will have to plant sufficient number of trees along the main branches and water courses around their fields and houses and at other suitable places and to look after them properly.
(ii) Detailed instructions regarding the number of trees and the mode of planting them will be issued by the colonization officer. The willow and popular cuttings will as far as possible be supplied from the State gardens and nurseries.

Note : The Zamindars will require no compulsion for planting the trees but instructions will be necessary regarding mode of planting and sites etc. to prevent rank growth and unsightly plantations.

- (iii) All such trees planted by the colonists on their lands will be the exclusive property of the colonists. The trees planted by State officials on Khalsa lands will belong to the State.
 - (iv) The colonists will be entitled to make use of the State trees in planting which they have assisted by pollarding them at fixed periods in accordance with the instructions issued in this behalf by the colonization officer.
16. *State Plantations :* (i) In order to keep a sufficient stock of young fruitful and unfruitful trees State nurseries will be planted at suitable sites under the supervision of the Mirab and the plots under

nursuries will be treated as "Kharij Bachh". From these nurseries plants and cuttings will be supplied to the Zamindars according to the rules for the time being in force.

- (ii) In addition to nurseries, State trees will be planted along the canal and road sides and State gardens will be planted at convenient places to meet State requirements. The plantation will be carried on under the supervision of the State officials and will belong to the State.
17. *Grazing Grounds* : With due regard to the existing rights, the slopes between Karbathang plateau and the villages of Chheskor Sofi, Foh, Tingdo, Skambo and Pashkam will belong to the colony for grazing purposes. The colonists will graze their cattle on the said slopes in accordance with the grazing rules for the time being in force.
- Note* : These rules will be framed later on by the colonization officer after ascertaining the existing rights of the neighbouring villages.
18. *Status of the Colonists* : (i) From the time of their paying full revenue to the State and subject to their having fully complied with all the conditions of the grant, the colonists will have the same Assami rights over their grants as are enjoyed by the other Assami of the Kargil Tehsil.
- (ii) The succession and alienation of land in the colony will be subject to the rules and regulation in force in the Kargil Tehsil.
19. *Proprietary Rights* : The proprietary rights in the land will be vested in the Darbar.
20. *Liabilities of the Colonists and their Ejection in Case of Failure to cultivate* : (i) Every colonist shall be bound to show due diligence in bringing his grant under

cultivation and to build a suitable house and bring at least one half of the grants under cultivation within one year of allotment.

- (ii) Any colonist who, without reasonable cause, fails to show due diligence in utilising his grant will in the first instance receive a notice in writing that in case of continuing default he will be liable to ejectment. If default continues during the open season next following, the notice, he shall be liable to summary ejection by order of the colonization officer at any time before he has received Assami rights under rule 18.
- (iii) After receiving Assami rights, the colonist will be subject to the same regulation as ordinary Assami.

21. *Appointment of Lambardars and Zaildars :* (i) A sufficient number of Mukadams will be appointed by the colonization officer to carry on administration of the colony. They will receive no remuneration for two years but at the end of two years, the Mukadams will be made Pacca Lambardars provided they fulfil the usual conditions. They will then receive Panjotra at the rate of five per cent of the revenue of their charge.

- (ii) If found necessary, an influential local Zamindar will be selected by the colonization officer to work as Mir Mukadam. He will also receive no remuneration for the period the colonists hold their lands revenue free. At the end of this period a report will be made to confirm his appointment as Zaildar provided he gives satisfaction. On his being appointed as Zaildar he will be given the same pay as other Zaildars of the Tehsil.

22. (i) Applications for grant of land on the Karbathang canal will be made to the colonization officer in person or by post. These applications will be exempt from the stamp duty and will have to be made on a printed form prescribed by the colonization officer and supplied from the Wazarat and Tehsil offices gratis to all intending applicants.
- (ii) the applications will state the following particulars:
- (a) Name, parantage and residence of the applicant or joint applicants.
 - (b) Details of the area previously owned by him together with revenue.
 - (c) That he can make satisfactory arrangements to cultivate his previous belongings.
 - (d) That he would take up his residence in the colony and construct a house at his own expense.
 - (e) The number and names of his male relatives migrating with him to the colony and details of live-stock to be carried with him to the colony.
- (iii) A Fard Intikal of Jamabandi duly signed by Patwari will also be attached to the application.
- (iv) The actual selection of colonists from a number of candidates if many apply, will as far as possible be done on the spot by the colonization officer himself in the presence of the assembled villagers and the officers and with the village records before him.

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The Sericultural Industry : Present Position and Problems Process of Production

By
M. Ganju

Seed Production: The production of the silkworms' eggs, technically known as "seed", is the first important branch of the Sericultural industry. Seed production has developed into a highly specialized industry in all important silk-producing countries. It is necessary to eliminate the hereditary diseases of the silkworms, to save them from falling a prey to any disease and to improve upon the existing races of the worms. In the selection of cocoons for the reproduction of eggs, attention must be paid to their history. They should be of normal size, appearance, and weight, and with a thicker layer of silk.

It takes about 8 to 15 days for a moth to emerge from the cocoon after it was built, the determining factor being the temperature of the place.

During the short life of the moth which lasts two to three days, it "lives on love and fresh air", for it eats nothing till it dies. As soon as a male cuts through its cocoon, it makes a search for a female. The pairing has to be regulated, and in Kashmir the pairing of these worms is not allowed for more than 4-5 hours, and each male is mixed with two females, one

after the other, so as to make a saving of the males, and thereby of cocoons. Moths are to be examined before pairing, to make sure that they have no defect.

Males are then buried underground, and females are put into paper or muslin cells where they lay eggs. These females are then crushed and microscopically examined. The seed of those who are found diseased is destroyed. The eviposition cells are then wetted in water, eggs scraped off, washed, cleaned, dried in the shade, and put into boxes. The ounce weight of seed put in a box varies from 30 to 36 grammes, the determining factor being the race of a worm and its yield. The Chinese golden yellow ounce of seed might contain 36 grammes, European yellow has only 30 grammes.

A moth lays about 300-450 eggs. About 90 to 100 layings make an ounce of seed. Sometimes as many as 160 females are required to produce as much quantity. On an average 100 to 110 layings make one ounce; one maund of cocoons yield about 70 ounces of seed.

Leo Duran writes that it takes about 70-80 females to produce an ounce of seed. If that were so, the reason for lower yield in Kashmir could be found in the difference of the climatic conditions of the two places, one which the silkworm race belongs to, and the other where the seed is reared. It is because of this that an indigenous silkworm race is always to be preferred over an imported one.

Hibernation : The seed (univoltine race), before being hatched, must be submitted to cold weather for about three months. Cold storage rooms are maintained for the purpose. Formerly, the temperature in Europe in such rooms used to be brought down to the freezing point. But now they prefer 2° C, or 35° F. Some bring the temperature gradually down, and then raise it up gradually. Some prefer abrupt variations. In Kashmir the temperature is gradually lowered to about 30° F. and maintained at about 34-35° F., till February (from November) and then gradually raised to about 60° F., before

the seed is taken out during the second fortnight of April for distribution among the rearers.

The importance of this branch of the industry is universally recognised, and everywhere Governments are requested to have control on the reproduction of seed. Speaking before the Royal Society of Art, Mr. Norton Breton, a great London authority on silk, remarked: "I am all out for as little Government interference as possible, but in the case of Sericulture it is necessary to have most stringent rules and regulations in regard to the industry if it is to prove successful. Silkworms are prone to infectious diseases and the reproduction of eggs has to be very strictly controlled".

Consequently in Kashmir and the Punjab the seed production is entirely managed by the respective Governments. In Bengal about half the total quantity of seed consumed in the presidency is now either produced in the Government nurseries or by "selective rearers". The Mysore Government produces an appreciable quantity of seed (for local consumption) directly, and gives bounties to the recognised producers of the saree.

In Kashmir, seed of two types is used, imported and reproduced. Up to 1906-07 only imported seed was used. That year the Grainage Section was established by the State and reproduction of seed was taken up. The Table given below shows the progress in this respects.

From the above Table it can be observed that except for the year 1917-18, when there was a small fall, the production of seed shows a continuous rise up to 1922-23. Then it marks fluctuations till in 1941-42 the production of seed reached 41,105. In 1941-42 no imported seed was used in the Kashmir province, and the seed distributed that year was all produced locally.

In Jammu province, imported seed has always been used. Only in 1940-41 did they establish a Grainage at Banihal, and 8,635½ ounces of 32 grammes of seed were produced in the first year, and about 12,000 ounces in the second year.

Year	Seed in Ozs	Year	Seed in Ozs	Year	Seed in Ozs
1906-07	10½	1918-19	14780½	1930-31	17082
1907-08	179	1919-20	15379	1931-32	16690
1908-09	568½	1920-21	16110½	1932-33	17153.7
1909-10	1413	1921-22	19242	1933-34	18264.5
1910-11	2123	1922-23	19871	1934-35	18596
1911-12	2922	1923-24	18173	1935-36	23753.2
1912-13	3502	1924-25	14523	1936-37	21693.1
1913-14	3719	1925-26	15889½	1937-38	17297
1914-15	3726	1926-27	12821	1938-39	25366
1915-16	4427	1927-28	18582½	1939-40	44724
1916-17	7116½	1928-29	17909.2	1940-41	42354.1
1917-18	6465	1929-30	19726.6	1941-42	41105.12

Except for a few years, the imported seed on the whole has always given better results, and the seed reproduced in the State has given a poorer yield of cocoons. However, the cost of production of reproduced seed is less than that of the imported seed. In 1924-25, it was Rs.3/- per ounce. For the next seven years, it was Rs.2-3/7 on an average. During the following years up to 1939-40, the average cost works at Rs.1-11/18 per ounce, as against Rs.3-7/16 for the imported seed from the very beginning. That the department has been able to reduce the cost of production to an appreciable degree is evident, but "judging by the information from other provinces and States, the cost of production in Kashmir is high, amounting to 6 pies per pound of cocoons reared compared with 4 pies in Mysore, 3 pies in Bengal and 1½ pies in Madras." However, this high cost in Kashmir is attributed to the

necessity of univoltine seed being kept at a low temperature for 3 months which is not the case with the multivoltine races.

Races of Silkworms : There is no indigenous silkworm in the State at present. The seed which is reproduced in Kashmir is from foreign races, such as French, Italian and Bagdad. However, it seems that no serious attempt has been made for the selection, acclimatization and subsequent establishment of a suitable race in the country.

Abruzza, a race imported from Italy, was reproduced for some years, after which it developed a very high percentage of Nosema bombycis infection, with the result that reproduction of this race had to be discontinued. Similar has been the fate of many other races experimented upon. This is due to the lack of guidance by trained and well-qualified persons. In 1942, yellow races were undergoing the fourth generation, and the Chinese white golden was undergoing the third generation. So far no serious disease had appeared in the seed, and if that favourable condition had continued, the races after 7-10 generations would have been acclimatized. But due to some technical error, we were told, this attempt has also failed. This year (1942) a multivoltine variety from Mysore has been obtained to hybridize it with the female univoltine yellow variety. The results is not yet known.

Acclimatization : The importance of having indigenous silkworm is very great. The quantity and the quality of raw silk depends upon the quality of cocoons from which the raw silk is obtained, and the quality of cocoons is determined by the variety (race) of seed together with the climatic conditions under which that seed is reared. We have already seen that whereas in general it requires 70-80 females to produce one ounce of seed, Kashmir requires 100-110 layings for as much quantity, in spite of the fact that the reproduction takes place from the very same foreign races. The reason for this is obvious. The seed and the silkworm are extremely sensitive to climatic changes. Indigenous silkworm could stand changes in climate much better than foreign races. Secondly, silk

produced in Kashmir before the introduction of foreign races has been declared better in respect of thread than the silk produced from foreign races. Moreover, a country need not depend on a foreign supply if it has its own races of worms. Sometimes foreign seed may be delayed transit or get spoiled, and this may hamper the whole industry. The cost of production of imported seed is always very high. This is why acclimatization of some races in Kashmir is necessary.

REARING

Seed is distributed among the rearers who incubate the same in their own houses. Proper incubation is a matter of primary importance, for mistakes at this stage would ruin the whole crop. A small room in which temperature can be regulated is selected for the purpose. Sometimes, to economize labour, several rearers put their seed together, and share the returns.

Fire pots are used to keep the rooms warm. The temperature desired is raised gradually by not more than two degrees Fahrenheit a day, until it reaches 75 degrees. The seed is to be spread in thin layers on some flat surface and moved with some soft feather several times a day so as to allow free air to every seed. But these details are not looked after by the local rearers with the consequence that production suffers. When hatching begins, it is necessary to put some clean pieces of perforated paper or net of very light material on the seed, over which are to be laid the young shoots of the mulberry trees. The worms in search of food pass through the holes of the paper and cover the shoots. These shoots are to be placed on some frames, and each day's hatching, called levees, are to be kept separately for convenience in the feeding of the worms. But a Kashmiri rearing does not take so much trouble, though it would pay him to do so. He puts the bits of the leaves on the small worms, and branches when the worms become bigger. This destroys many of his worms. The carelessness on the part of Kashmiri rearers is due to their preoccupation with agriculture.

The life of a silkworm is divided into five ages, separated by molts. The duration of life is (before it spins its cocoon) about 36 to 40 days, during which time it goes through four molts and changes its skin as snakes do. During molts it does not move or eat anything. But between the molts, called ages, it shows a surprising appetite, and the appetite is ever sharpened after every molt. The following Table shows, according to the Kashmir Sericultural Department, the amount of leaf consumed by the worms from one ounce of seed.

1st age	5 days	4	lbs	of leaf
2nd "	4 "	13	"	"
3rd "	6 "	45	"	"
4th "	7 "	120	"	"
5th "	10 "	700	"	"
Total	32	882		

Making allowance for wastage etc., 2,000 lbs. of leaf would be required to feed the worms raised from one ounce of seed.

There are many technicalities, of course, not difficult or out of reach of Kashmiri rearers, to be followed for the good rearing of the worms, but due to the preoccupation of the peasants in Kashmir with agriculture, as already explained, hardly any one does the work scientifically. The result is that whereas the yield of about 100 lbs., per ounce of seed is not uncommon in France, and 120 lbs is not considered exceptional in Italy, the yield per ounce of seed in Kashmir has never gone beyond 80 lbs., for the last decade, and was as low as 39 lbs. in 1940-41. Sometimes there is high temperature in the rearing room, and sometimes it falls below the required limit, and many worms die. Over-feeding, under-feeding, less space, less care, wet leaf and excessive humidity are some of the other defects.

When the worm reaches its last stage, and is ready to spin its golden house, the cocoon, it wriggles its head to and fro, as if in great pain, to find a support for the purpose. As sufficient quantity of dry twigs and bushy branches has to be provided to the worm, who climbs on the same, spitting out its first thread. The silk glands at this stage are so large as to amount to one-fifth of the worm. The thread which is "emitted by the worm is composed of fibroin overcoated with sericin, or silk gum, and some colouring matter producing yellow, green or brown cocoons." White cocoons yield less silk, and white fibres are less elastic though thicker and stronger than the yellow ones.

The worm takes about three days to complete its cocoon. At the larval stage the moisture content of the cocoon is about 75 per cent. After about seven days more when larvae changes into pupae, the cocoon contains only 66 per cent moisture and is known as green cocoon. The cocoons are then collected and brought to the Srinagar Silk Factory where they are scientifically secheoired. Then they lose all moisture. The major portion of the cocoon is, however, dried in the sun by the rearer, and then brought to the factory.

Artifical drying (drying by secheoiring) of cocoons has proved to be superior to sun drying, so far as the yield of silk is concerned. The loss due to sun drying is estimated by the Sericultural Department to average half a lb., of cocoons per lb. of silk reeled. In the State as a whole only about 1/4th of the total produce of cocoons is secheoired, and the remaining portion is dried in the sun. Three-fourths of the total out-turn of silk in the State in 1940-41 was about 1,54,297 lbs. The loss of cocoons thereby comes to about 77,148 green lbs. The question of extending the secheoiring plant is, however, under the consideration of the authorities.

This process of rearing in Jammu is the same as that in Kashmir. But since the altitude of the rearing villages here varies from 1,000 to 5,000 ft., the time of seed distribution does not coincide throughout the province. In the hotter places

the distribution takes place in earlier February, and the cooler places get seed even as late as April. Cocoons are mostly dried by the rearers in the sun and the same are received by the department concerned at the different receiving centres. The transport charges here are borne by the silk factory which is not the case in Kashmir, where the cocoons are to be delivered at the Srinagar Factory. Cocoons produced in the Jammu tehsil are received in the green state, and are steamed in the factory.

REELING

Before the cocoons are sent for the reeling operation, they are sorted into different qualities, and had cocoons separated out so as to facilitate the production of uniform thread. They are then sent to the filatures. The following Tables shows the number of filatures and basins at each place.

Kashmir Province: Srinagar Silk Factory

<i>Type of Basins</i>	<i>Basins in each Filature</i>	<i>Number of Filatures</i>
Italian imported with jette-bout, doing 8 ends at a time	192	2
Italian type but of local make. It works with buttons and has done with jette- bout of Italian Filatures	200	1
Old Filature (except for the four basins which are of Italian type as well as of make) old basins doing 5 ends at a time. Only 152 basins were working in 1942	304	1
Total	888	4

Jammu Province: Jammu Silk Factory

Type of Basins	Basins in each Filature	Number of Filatures
Fitted with locally made machinery—		
Each basin doing 9 threads at a time	96 plus 11	1
New Filatures with up-to-date Italian reeling machinery doing 12 ends at a time	48	1
Total	155	2

In the first two Filatures of Italian make (at Srinagar Factory) there is one reeler or spinner as he is called in Kashmir, to every basin, one cook to two reelers, and the same is true of the old filatures. But in the third filature (Italian type, local make), there is one cook to each reeler, the reason being the absence of automatically working brushes. In all these filatures, one waste silk preparer looks after six reelers. The new filatures, with cocoons No. 1, produce silk of the best quality, sold under the Lotus chop brand. Silk from second class cocoons reeled in the same filature is sold under the Iris chop brand. Second class cocoons in the old filature produce the third quality silk, known as Tulip. Other rough qualities of the same filature are known as Puda, etc. The first quality silk produced in Jammu filatures is called Neel which compares favourably with the Lotus of Kashmir. Lotus and Iris brands are properly cleaned and opened, otherwise the same silk is known as Tulip.

The first process in reeling begins with the cooking of cocoons in boiling water in order to soften the gum. Next they are brushed so as to remove coarse outer layers of silk, and to find out the true end of the cocoon. Cocoons are thus put in the reeling basin. Over each basin there are 4 to 8 jette-bouts or porcelain buttons through which the reeler sends a

number of filaments up to pass over his head and get reeled on the reels (59 inch standard reels in case of Kashmir). Experts differ as to what number of 'ends' should be entrusted to each reeler so as to obtain maximum returns. Eight end to each reeler would economise labour. But at the same time an eight skein reeler is to be paid higher wages, besides there is the loss of quality even if more than 4 ends are entrusted to a reeler. In the new filature at Jammu a reeler is entrusted with as many as 12 ends. The results as to the quality of silk and the cost of production in that filature are not yet known, since it has started working only in 1941-42.

The number of filaments passed through each button or jette-bout determines the size of the silk thread, the most important thing to be considered about raw silk. The denier of cocoons produced in Kashmir varies between 2 and 3, and that of Mysore cocoons it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$. The following Table shows the sizes of the raw silk reeled in Kashmir.

<i>Denier</i>	<i>Denier</i>	<i>Denier</i>	<i>Denier</i>
9/11	12/14	13/15	15/17
16/18	16/20	18/20	18/22
20/22	20/24	24/28	28/32
30/35	35/40	40/45	45/55
60/65	60/70	70/80	90/100

The reeler's attention is to be concentrated on maintaining uniformity in the size of a thread. A broken filament has to be replaced by a new one. In the jette-bout, the silk filaments get consolidated into one thread. This then passes over to two guide reels, and get twisted. By this process the gum and moisture are squeezed out and the fibres become more cohesive. The thread is then passed over a third guide, and to the reels, technically known as "travellers" or "swifts". In the third filature where there are no jette-bouts, the buttons are said to be not capable of squeezing out the moisture to the required extent. Thus the silk from this filature is not so soft.

The practice of mixing this with the silk reeled in the Italian make basins, is probably a disadvantage to the Kashmir silks.

TESTING

After the silk is reeled, it is sent for testing. Samples are tested on a random basis, and if they come up to the mark, the reeler gets a reward equal to about half the wage of one day. Sometimes he is fined for mistakes. There are tests for knotters, for reelers, for cleaners and so on.

One of the chief drawbacks of Kashmir silk (including Jammu) is that it is not attested by Conditioning House Certificates. This is perhaps the main reason why this silk has not found its way into the vast American markets, where no transaction in raw silk takes place without the Conditioning House Certificates. The tests in the State filatures are simply meant to test the work of the labourers. They have no reference to the needs of the market.

SILK WASTE

The quantity of the silk waste obtained from, any particular variety of cocoons varies according to the quality of silk obtained. In the case in filature silk, the waste is the greatest, and is smallest in charkha reeling. No waste is obtained from "Ghora" which is a third quality silk, produced in Bengal. The quantity of waste also depends upon the variety of cocoons. Cocoons spun by the silkworms of multivoltine races yield greater waste than the cocoons from univoltine races. Then there is difference in waste from the same variety of worms as well, determined by the quality of cocoons. In Jammu, the percentage of waste is greater than in Kashmir, though both provinces rear univoltine variety of silkworms. This difference has been attributed to the difference in races of the worms. Japan requires 11.68 lbs., of cocoons for one lb. of raw silk, as against 12 lbs. or more in Kashmir and 14 lbs., in Jammu. Thus Japan with the same univoltine variety of

silkworms gets more of silk than Kashmir, which is due to the superior silk contents of the Japanese cocoon.

It is said that if instead of 5½ lbs., of cocoons, which are usually issued to each reeler in the new filatures for one day's reeling, only 4 lbs., were issued, the quantity of silk obtained would be greater and the waste smaller than is the case at present. But at the same time it remains to be seen whether the costs might not increase in more than proportion by issuing less quantity of cocoons per basin; for if on the one hand, waste is reduced, on the other, wages and other expenses would more or less remain the same. The matter is one for experiment.

Silkwaste produced from the new filatures in Srinagar is classed as No. 1, and called Sarnakh. That from the old filature is labelled No. 1B, and is called Gudar. Sarnakh is cleaned and opened, Gudar is not. The other wastes, such as pierced cocoons, basin refuse, etc., is collected and sold separately in Indian markets, especially in Bengal where the same is spun into "matka silk". Sarnakh usually goes to Europe where it is manufactured into "spun silk".

WATER AND POWER

A large amount of water has to be used in the basins, and since silk is extremely sensitive to the chemical properties of water, care has to be taken to get a suitable supply of the same. Additional cost has to be incurred to neutralise the bad effects of water, if any, on silk. In this respect Kashmir has the advantage of a sufficient water-supply readily available.

As regards power, the basins are heated by steam and the reels are turned by electricity. The electric power to the Srinagar Factory is supplied from a hydro-electric plant installed at Mohara, and to Jammu Factory from a hydro-electric plant in Jammu city. Wood is used as fuel at both the places to produce the necessary steam for the basins.

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF COCOONS AND RAW SILK

We have already seen the quantity of cocoons, of raw silk, and of silkwaste produced in the State from year to year. Here we shall give the average produce per year for the last 10 years—from 1931-32 to 1940-41

<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Province and quantity</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cocoons in Maunds	(Kashmir : 27,871) (Jammu : 7,649)	35,520
Raw Silk in lbs.	(Kashmir : 1,92,309) (Jammu : 39,895)	2,32,204
Silkwaste in lbs.	(Kashmir : 97,958) (Jammu : 30,428)	1,28,386

The average of silk raw produced in Kashmir is about five times as much as in Jammu. But since the production of both cocoons as well as of raw silk has decreased in the case of Kashmir during the last few years on the one hand, and has increased in Jammu, on the other, the difference between the two provinces in their respective productive capacities has lessened. Still Kashmir output of all the three items of cocoons, raw silk and silkwaste is more than three times that of Jammu. The total average production of raw silk for the last ten years for Jammu and Kashmir together comes to 2,32,204 lbs., as against about 15,00,000 lbs., in India as a whole, and 7,00,00,000 lbs., in Japan.

Two things are clear from these figures. First, the cost of production of both cocoons as well as raw silk is lower in the case of Kashmir than in Jammu. This is probably due to the larger scale of operations in Kashmir than in Jammu, and partly due to the fact that the amount of cocoons required for one pound of silk in Jammu is 14 lbs., green, as against 12 lbs., green in Kashmir, as the yield of cocoons reared in the

Jammu province is lower. Besides, the salaries paid to the permanent staff in both the provinces are the same in spite of the fact that the Jammu Sericulture is a small concern compared with Kashmir.

COST OF PRODUCTION

The following Table gives the cost of production of cocoons and raw silk, as compiled by the departments concerned :

Year	Kashmir Province						Jammu Province					
	Per green Md. of cocoons			Per lb. of raw silk			Per green Md. of cocoons			Per lb of raw silk		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
1931-32	26	14	0	6	8	0	28	12	0	Not available		
1932-33	22	1	11	7	8	0	23	0	0	7	7	10
1933-34	18	12	8	6	1	8	22	0	0	7	0	0
1934-35	17	15	7	5	9	0	21	2	3	5	14	8
1935-36	19	3	2	4	15	5	21	2	0	5	10	11
1936-37	18	8	0	4	12	3	21	3	4	6	10	0
1937-38	20	9	1	5	10	7	24	2	8	6	7	2
1938-39	20	8	0	5	1	8	21	1	7	Not available		
1939-40	19	15	3	4	15	8	23	13	0	"	"	
1940-41	23	12	1	6	5	4½	27	6	0	"	"	

Another striking point about the table is that over the whole period there has been very little reduction in the cost of production of raw silk. The reduction we do find in some years is due to the lower price of cocoons. In this connection it is interesting to know that both the directors concerned admitted before the Tariff Board Enquiry Committee in 1933

that there was much scope for reduction of costs and that by ten years' time they would be able to obtain 110 lbs., of cocoons per ounce of seed and that they could not say definitely whether the total reduction of costs might come to "about 40 per cent". But at the end of nearly a decade what do we find? Instead of going up to 110 lbs., the yield of cocoons was only about 39 lbs., in 1940-41 as compared to 79 lbs., per ounce of seed in 1932-33 in the case of Kashmir; in Jammu the yield in 1932-33 was 98 lbs., but was as low as 45 lbs., in 1940-41. This huge fall in yield might be explained as due to the unfavourable weather conditions during the rearing seasons, but at the same time, there is little doubt that the rearers' decreasing interest and less attention to rearing than to their main agricultural pursuits are responsible for the dwindling returns of crops, especially in the Province of Kashmir.

The comparison of costs as between the different producing centres in India (and with Japan) can have only a limited significance, because one does not know how exactly they have been computed. However, we shall give the Table showing the costs as they were in 1937 of filatured silk in India and Japan and try to find out where Kashmir stands in this respects.

Mysore has the highest cost of production. But if due allowance for the mulberry leaf is to be made in the Kashmir State as well, as is done at other places, it is Kashmir which will probably top the list in this respect.

Place	Cost per lb. of silk		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Mysore	7	7	4
Kollegal Silk Filatures	5	15	10.4
Jammu	6	7	2
Kashmir	5	10	7
Punjab	3	11	0
Japan	4	6	1

Commenting on the Mysore figures, the Tariff Board remarks: "Even allowing for the fact that the Mysore filature is not working to its full capacity as an economic unit, the difference between the Punjab filature silk figure and the Mysore filature figure is so great that there must be an error somewhere." Besides, there is no reason why Mysore should incur such a huge cost per lb., of filatured silk as Rs. 7/7/4, when Kollegal, which is so near Mysore, produces a similar quality at Rs. 5/15/10 per lb.

The industry in the Punjab at present is run on a very small scale. The cost of production shown against that province is the cost incurred in the Government demonstration filature. It is possible that in their zeal to show how the Punjab could produce silk at a lower cost of production than any other part in India, economies might have been effected in the filature—economies which might not be practicable under the present circumstances in India. Thus, the Punjab figures cannot be taken as basic figures either for India, or even for Northern India, which includes Kashmir.

The cost of production in Japan is much below that of Kashmir.

It seems that the cost of production is not correctly estimated in Kashmir. The departments concerned do not make any allowance for the leaf supply for the worms. If the amount paid to the rearers is taken as the price of cocoons, allowance should be made for 1/8th of the total leaf supply which is obtained from the mulberry trees standing on the Government land. But if on the other hand the amount paid is taken as wages, allowance for 7/8th of the total leaf supply is to be made, for 7/8th of the total number of mulberry trees are standing on the lands owned by private individuals. When these items are added, the cost of production of silk per lb., would be much higher than shown by the departments concerned, and would most probably be higher than at any other place in India.

SILK MANUFACTURES

Silk weaving is confined to Srinagar. Artificial silk weaving is carried on in Jammu.

During the first decade of the present century an attempt was made by the Government to establish silk weaving in Srinagar. This attempt, however, failed.

In 1940, a new plant with up-to-date French weaving machinery, with 33 power looms and sufficient throwing, washing, bleaching, dyeing and finishing apparatus was set up by the State in Srinagar. This factory was manufacturing huge quantities of parachute cloth for the British Government. But the factory was burnt down in September, 1942. However, a new plant, with a total strength of 65 power looms, has been installed at Rajbagh in Srinagar. Nine more looms were about to start working by June 1943. Besides, 50 looms more have been ordered from Bombay. Artex & Co., a European-owned concern, possesses 15 power looms. There are no other power looms in the State.

The number of hand looms owned by Karkhandars and cottage weavers in Srinagar is, according to the Government Silk Factory, 343. There are a few more cottage weavers who do not get any silk from the Government, and are not thus registered in the Factory. The number of such looms is estimated at about five per cent of the registered looms. Thus the total number of working looms in Srinagar comes to about 80 power looms, and 360 hand looms. Due to the lack of raw materials, the artificial silk weaving has these days come to an end.

RAW MATERIALS

There are two sources from which the manufacturers get their raw material—home and outside. Kashmir produces only filatured silk, and no artificial or spun silk. Artificial and spun silk yarns are imported from abroad, and Kashmir supplies

only a portion of the real silk. It is, however, difficult to know the proportion in which each variety of yarn is used by a Kashmiri manufacturer, though in Jammu weavers mainly manufacture artificial silk. Due to the lack of foreign imports these days, mainly from Japan, the industry has suffered much, and the manufacturers depend on the State supply of silk yarn. But as the State itself is busy supplying war demands, very little is available for the local people with the consequence that hundreds of looms are now lying idle.

Other Raw Materials

The other raw materials required are soap and dyes. The Government Silk Weaving Factory and the Artex & Co., have their own plants for dyeing and washing, and the stuffs for the same are imported from outside. But most of the other concerns send their goods to Bombay for printing work. So in some cases dyes and other chemicals are imported from outside and used in the State, and in other cases, the very manufacturers are sent out for the process, and thus the position is unsatisfactory from both the angles.

VOLUME OF PRODUCTION

According to the estimates for 1941 made by the Director of Industries, Jammu the sole producer of artificial silk in the State, consumed 16,810 lbs., of artificial silk yarn, and produced, 2,47,200 yards or Rs. 1,69,950 worth of artificial silk cloth. That year 30,000 lbs., of pure silk yarn was consumed in Kashmir, with which 3,77,260 yards or Rs. 3,89,340 worth of cloth was produced there.

The industry, however, has already suffered much which is due to the lack of yarn imports from abroad. The State filatures also are supplying war demands, and cannot spare raw silk in any appreciable quantities for the local industry. In such circumstances only about 360 hand looms are working at present (June 1943). The Artex & Co., employs 15 power looms, with the producing capacity of 10 to 12 yards of silk

per loom per day. In reply to our questionnaire the Company gives 40,000 yards as its annual production. On these calculations, the 65 Government-owned power looms can produce about 1,73,333 yards. Now, taking the average yield per hand loom per day to be about 3 yards, the total produce of 360 looms, on the basis of 280 to 300 working days in a year, comes to 3,02,400-3,24,000 or about 3,12,000. Thus the total yardage of silk produced in Kashmir at present is about 5,25,000.

SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION

Silk manufacturing is carried on under two systems, (1) factory or Karkhandar, and (2) cottage system. Under the first mentioned system, the owners usually combine in themselves the roles of both capitalist and *entrepreneur*. They supply the necessary finance, buy raw materials, employ weavers and undertake also the marketing of the products. Under the cottage system, a weaver has his own looms and other appliances and has also to finance his small undertaking. With his paltry savings he buys raw materials from the State filatures where he has to pay only the wholesale price, and is thus benefited to that extent. He works in his own home with the help of his wife and children. He often works longer hours than in a Karkhana or a factory. All this enables him to offer severe competition to factory owners and Karkhandars who all complained to us of the same.

MARKETING

During the normal times the Government Silk Weaving Factory sells its manufactures through agents, as does the Artex & Co. But at present both these concerns manufacture parachute cloth only for the Government of India.

The Karkhandars maintain their own sales depots in Srinagar, Government Market and Emporium, etc., During winters they send down their agents to the plains and sell the

goods there by hawking. Some of them have their own sales depots in some of the big cities of India, where, besides silks, many other Kashmir products are displayed and sold.

The cottage weaver sells his goods either to Karkhandars, private individuals or to some stockists in the same way as a cottage weaver of Pashmina goods does. The only difference is that whereas the Pashmina cottage weaver pays a retail sale price for his raw material, and is not able to compete with the Karkhandar, the silk cottage weaver pays a wholesale price for the raw material, and is thus in a better position to compete with the Karkhandar.

LABOUR

Apart from the Government Silk Weaving Factory and the Artex & Co., there are three big concerns in Srinagar whom, among themselves employ 200 weavers. There are many small concerns, employing 5 to 20 weavers each. According to the estimates of experts, as well as the owners of the above mentioned three big concerns, the weavers employed in the silk manufacturing before the outbreak of the present war numbered 600-650 in Srinagar. The figures compiled by the Director of Industries show that there were 683 working looms in Srinagar in 1941, and 103 in Jammu. This means that the total number of weavers in the State should be about 786—one weaver per loom—besides helpers, such as members of the family.

But at present, due to the yarn scarcity and abnormal prices of silk which have decreased the demand for silk, many looms have fallen idle. As already explained, the total number of registered hand looms in the Srinagar Silk Factory is 343, besides about 5 per cent unregistered. The number of power looms is 80, making a total of 440. Supposing all these looms are working all the days, then about 440 weavers find employment in the industry at present. Making some allowance for other helpers etc., the total cannot exceed 600 workers in all.

WAGES

Two types of wage systems prevail in the weaving branch of the silk industry. On the one hand there are factory and Karkhana workers, and on the other, cottage workers. The average output per weaver per day differs under both the systems according to the quality woven. The better the quality of silk to be woven, the smaller naturally is the weaver's output per day. But at the same time better quality pays slightly more than in proportion. On an average handloom weaver weaves about 3 yards of silk per day of 10 working hours and earns an average wage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ anna per yard. Due to the present war this wage has increased by about 25 per cent, or even more.

Under the cottage system a weaver buys the raw material from the Government at the same price at which any big Karkhandar or factory owner buys it. He works harder, produces more, has to pay no overhead charges, and is thus able to stand, even to offer a competition to the Karkhandar. His earnings therefore might even exceed the earnings of a Karkhana weaver. On the whole the earnings of a cottage weaver as well as of a Karkhana weaver works out on an average to be about 8 annas per day.

Under the factory system, with power looms, a weaver's daily output is between 10 and 12 yards, with an average wage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per yard (pre-war wage level) that is 15 annas and Re. $1\frac{1}{2}$ /- per day of 10 hours. In the Artex & Co., some work on the basis of time wages and are paid about 12-14 annas a day.

FUTURE

The future of the silk manufacturing in the State seems to be more secure than that of sericulture. It seems that the industry can even be developed. So long as the State produces raw silk, the weavers need not worry for the supply of the same.

But if they can secure the raw material from outside the country at a cheaper price, they should certainly not be debarred from obtaining it by raising tariff walls against imports, as otherwise they cannot compete with the silks manufactures woven and sold in India. It might be repeated here that the imposition of tariff walls against the raw silk and yarn imports would be desirable only if thereby Kashmir could save its sericultural industry in the long run. But as we have studied, that is not the case. Kashmir has a vast market in India where there is a great demand for Kashmir manufactured sarees. It should be possible to produce in the State goods which can compete with the silk products produced in other parts of India. If that is done, Kashmir can develop its silks manufacturing industry. Below are some of our suggestions, which will in our opinion prove very helpful to this branch.

1. Over and above a small revenue duty, no protective duty should be charged on the imports of raw silk yarn or artificial silk. Rebate of duty should be given to the importers on bounded goods. With the cheap yarn thus obtained by the manufacturers, Kashmir can be enabled to stand the competition from the other parts of India.
2. The Department of Industries with the help of the A.I.S.A. and such other equally important concerns should extend the industry to those parts of Jammu where the cotton weavers are already unemployed or might become so hereafter. With a smaller wage paid to these people, which would naturally be acceptable to them, the cost of production would obviously be smaller. Besides the unemployed weavers could get work in this way.
3. Encouragement on the part of the Government should be given not only to the factory owners and Karkhandars, as they suggest, but should be extended to the cottage weavers also. This way there would

be no exploitation of labour on the part of the capitalists.

4. The use of better types of appliances should be fostered amongst the cottage weavers.
5. Dyeing and printing of the manufactures, being the acutest problem of this branch, should be introduced within the State.
6. Marketing of the goods, manufactured by the cottage weavers, should be entrusted to the central warehouse to be established in the interest of the woollens, as mentioned under the study of that industry.
7. Since 1940, the Kashmir branch of the A.I.S.A. has started experimenting in the use of basin refuse obtained from the Government Silk Factory. At the initial stage the State used to charge $2\frac{1}{4}$ annas per lb. from the Association, which rate was later increased to $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The Association was able to produce some rough quality of spun silk out of the refuse, but the experiment cost them Rs. 10,000/-. It would be advantageous if the waste silk and basin refuse produced in the State could be used within the State. Thus the State would do well to give every possible encouragement to the A.I.S.A. and such other concerns not only to carry on such experiments, but to extend its operations to every corner of the country.

(From *Textile Industries in Kashmir Jammu and Kashmir State*)

27

Jammu and Kashmir : 1947-1950

*By
Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah*

The State of Jammu and Kashmir occupies a unique position in the sub-continent of India. With an area of 84,471 square miles between 32.17° and 36.58° North Latitude and 73.26° and 80.30° East Longitude, the borders of this State meet not only India and Pakistan but also Soviet Russia, China and Afghanistan. With the division of the Indian Sub-continent in August 1947 into India and Pakistan, Kashmir which had boundaries contiguous to both was put in a peculiar position. It was free under the Indian Independence Act to join either of the two newly created dominions or to remain independent. The State had not yet made its choice when Pakistan attempted to annex the State by sheer force of arms. While the people of Kashmir and their representative organization, the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, as well as the Indian National Congress and the Government of India took the stand that it was the right of the people of Kashmir themselves to make the choice, the Government of Pakistan and the Muslim League conceded this right to the Prince. Accordingly the Pakistan Government attempted to effect accession of the State to that dominion at first by persuasion and negotiation with the Maharaja directly. This was followed by coercion by means of forcing an economic blockade. Finally they had recourse to naked aggression of the State towards the end of October 1947.

The ideal set by the people of Kashmir consistently before themselves was to secure freedom from the shackles of autocracy within the State first and then to make the choice as free people for accession—one way or the other. Thus, while on the one hand the Prince would not part with power, on the other hand Pakistan would have the people of Kashmir subjected to its authority as well. So there was only one hope left for the people of Kashmir and that was to look forward for help to Indian National Congress and the Nationalist Government of India, which had all along supported the Kashmir people's struggle for freedom and also stood by them vindicating their basic rights, in this hour of crisis. It is not easy to imagine under what abnormal circumstances the present administration assumed power. The grim background of 1947-48 should be taken into account in assessing the achievements of the present Government.

The Maharaja's administration completely collapsed as a result of the Pakistan-sponsored invasion. The people of Kashmir and their representative organisation—National Conference were faced with the problem not only of arranging their own defence against the foreign onslaught but also of starting the whole administration from scratch. So, reorientation was given to the remnants of the administrative machinery which was set going by creating new institutions to meet the exigencies to time.

On the 5th of March, 1948, a regular National Interim Government was formed to carry on the administrative responsibilities of the State. This government is pledged to have.

- (i) the entire territory of the State restored to lawful Government and liquidate the so-called "Azad Kashmir Government" and its forces,
- (ii) rehabilitated all those persons of the State who have left their places of residence after the raids and consequent disturbances, and

(iii) an Assembly set up on the basis of general adult suffrage which will draw up the Constitution for the people of Kashmir.

It must be admitted that the realization of this ultimate goal is far from achievement yet. The reason for non-achievement of this goal can be safely attributed to the indifference of Pakistan authorities towards the legitimate aspirations of the people of Kashmir, whom they would annex with themselves throwing all cannons of democracy and freedom to winds. Were it not for the intransigence of Pakistan which in the beginning straight-away denied its hand in the aggression on Kashmir, and later admitted that it had the overall command of all the forces operating in the so-called Azad areas, the ground should by now have easily been prepared not only for ascertaining the wishes of the people as to their accession to India or Pakistan, but also for drawing up their own Constitution.

LAND TO THE TILLER

The disturbed conditions, however, did not deter the Government to implement popular measures calculated to render much needed relief to the oppressed and poverty-stricken people. It was towards the middle of the year 1944 that the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference laid before itself the ideal of "New Kashmir". From soon after taking over the reins of administration, it has been the endeavour of the Government to redeem the pledges given by her to the people. The first important step which the Government has taken is towards the securing of freedom of the peasant from the shackles of a parasitic class of feudal lords, called Jagirdars in common parlance. These Jagirdars were created for the first time during the rule of the Moghul Emperors and patronized by the subsequent ruling classes. This system of Jagirdars received a further impetus during the last regime when additional Jagirs were created and holders thereof were granted fresh concessions and privileges.

Where previously the absentee landlord would get a share of one half or more of the produce, three-fourths of it now go to the tiller of the land. The tiller has not only obtained economic relief but has also received even more in the removal of the economic indignity and spiritual and social evils bred up by the serf-landlord relationship, that existed for centuries in this land.

In order to bring about a fundamental change in the productive relationship in agriculture, the Government has recently passed orders which seek to implement the policy of transferring land to the actual tillers. The main features of this Agriculture Plan are :-

1. Existing proprietors who own more than 160 kanals (20 acres) of land shall, subject to other conditions and limitations, retain and hold.
 - (a) a unit of agricultural land not exceeding 160, kanals.
 - (b) an area not exceeding 8 kanals for residential use or for purposes of vegetable gardening.
 - (c) a residential site actually under building at the present moment including a compound attached to such building not exceeding 4 kanals in each case, and
 - (d) area under Bedzar or Safedzar not exceeding 10 kanals.
2. Any proprietor who owns more than 160 kanals of land shall have the option to select the area specified in Article 1 within a period of one month from the date this order comes into force, failing which a Revenue Officer, not below the rank of a Tehsildar, shall allot him the said area.
 - a) All big orchards of a specified area shall be forthwith nationalised and shall become the property of the state, and

- b) orchards other than these shall continue to be the property of the present owner.
- 3. The right of ownership in land excess of other area mentioned in Article 1 shall cease to vest in the present proprietor from the date this order comes into force.
- 4. All the land from which the present owner has been expropriated shall be transferred to the tiller under whose cultivating possession such land is at the present moment.
- 5. The tiller shall be the full owner of the land transferred to him.
- 6. The tiller shall pay to the Government besides land revenue and other dues payable at present a special cess called the "Land Development Cess".
- 7. The Government shall determine the rate of this cess and all income derived there from shall be credited to the land Development Fund which shall be available for effecting improvements on such lands.
- 8. No proprietor or tiller shall transfer land or any interest therein without the previous permission of the Government.
- 9. Except so far as hereinbefore provided, no tiller or proprietor shall hold or retain possession of more than 160 kanals of land.
- 10. The actual size of the holding of the tiller to whom land has been transferred under this order shall be finally adjusted in due course of time.
- 11. The Government shall appoint a Committee to determine the assessment and the method of payment of compensation for the orchards that are nationalised.

12. The Government shall pay to the proprietor who has been expropriated from the land under this order the following amount until Constituent Assembly of the State is convened and the question of compensation is finally decided :
- for the first year after expropriation an amount equal to 3/4th of land revenue of the land from which he has been expropriated;
 - for the second year 2/3rd of such land revenue; and
 - for the third and subsequent years 1/2 of such land revenue.

Provided that

- the amount so payable shall not in any case exceed a sum of Rs. 3,000 per annum; and
- no amount shall be payable on account of any area appropriated by the owner from Shamilaat-Deh (village common).

FOOD POSITION

The food position in the State has been a matter of deep concern for the Government for a long time. The raids and consequent devastation resulted temporarily in the dislocation of the revenue machinery in a number of areas which gave rise to disruption in the collection of Mujawza (compulsory) procurement of food-grains). Measures were, therefore, adopted to procure paddy on monopoly basis so as to eliminate profiteering, hoarding and black-marketing by private agencies. For the first time, many rural areas, deficient in food-grains, were put on rationing which consequently expanded to an enormous size embracing not only the urban and suburban populations, but many rural areas, refugees in far-flung as well as labour engaged in forward areas. Last year constant flood nearly brought about famine conditions

but the Government promptly adopted measures to tide over the situation. Large quantities of food-grains were imported from India and as the people could not pay the high prices that these food-grains carried, the Government had to pay a subsidy of nearly one and a half crores in order to make such rations available to the people at cheaper rates.

In order to rationalize agricultural production the Government has adopted such measures as are likely to assist in the extension of the area of cultivation as well as increase the productivity of the present cultivated land. Better seeds and manure have been introduced and widely accepted by the cultivators.

In the "Grow More Food" Scheme that was launched in 1948, care was taken to allot waste lands to landless peasants and in some cases they were induced to take to cooperative farming with encouraging results. As many as 1,85,583 kanals of cultivable waste lands were allotted during the year 1948-49 and in 1949-50, it was 49, 547 kanals. As a result of this drive, the increase in the produce of food-grains is estimated at about 2,00,000 maunds. Efforts are in progress to make available a further area of 1,50,000 kanals in the valley of Kashmir.

IRRIGATION

An Irrigation Department has been set up to tackle the problem of irrigating dry lands and consequently ten old and new canals have either been restored or constructed. One of these canals, the Awantipura Canal which was completed at a cost of about Rs. 8,22,000, irrigates an area of 4,000 acres of land. It is expected that with the installation of necessary machinery, the canal can generate electric power sufficient for a large area around. Moreover, by lift irrigation, another 6,600 acres of land on the left bank of the Jhelum can be irrigated. The Sindh Hydro Electric-cum-Irrigation scheme will harness the water potentiality of river Sindh, which is a tributary of the

Jhelum, to the service of the country. This will generate, 12,000 kw. of Electricity at Ganderbal for electrification of the Srinagar city and its suburbs and will also irrigate 1,500 acres of land by its 10-mile-long lined canal. The scheme is expected to cost 1.6 crores and will be completed by the middle of the year 1955. To replace the present conduit at the Srinagar water supply reservoir at Harwan, which has a capacity of 9,00,000 gallons, a new service conduit from Harwan Reservoir to Nishat Purification plant capable of delivering 12,00,000 gallons daily is under construction.

EDUCATION

The Jammu and Kashmir University was established in the year 1948. It has held examinations up to Degree standard for the years 1949 and 1950 which have been recognised by other Universities in India. A Text-Book Advisory Board set up by the Government selected various panels of writers for preparation of new text-books in which the content has been correlated with General Science, Social Studies and what may compendiously be called, the Spirit of "New Kashmir". With a view to implementing the Government's decision to impart education at primary stages in mother-tongue, the Kashmiri script has been perfected and given a shape — and for the first time in the history of the state text-books were written in Kashmiri in the year 1949 for use in schools. Educational institutions have been restarted in the liberated areas.

The Government has introduced a new structure of educational system the main features of which are four years' course for secondary education, which have two types of schools, ordinary and constructive, with agricultural, technical and industrial bias suited to the needs of the country and its industry.

Infant schools have been re-organised at 60 different places. This was done to fight successfully against the wastage at the primary stage. These schools take the children at the

age of three and keep them for two years. The method and technique of these schools are based on an Indianised form of Montessori system.

Recently the Education Reorganization Committee has recommended that the Government should check private enterprise in education as it generally encouraged the growth of denominational institutions where a healthy and progressive type of education could not be imparted. The Government is considering the taking over of certain private schools in order to improve their standard. It has also under consideration methods of checking congestion of educational institutions in cities and town so as to utilize the resources thus released for increasing the number of schools and colleges in rural and backward areas.

As a step towards this, two Intermediate Colleges have been opened in Anantnag and Sopore and an Intermediate College exclusively for girls has also been started in Srinagar.

A network of social education centres has been spread over the entire area of the State to educate public opinion in the ideology of "New Kashmir". To start with 40 social education centres—20 for Jammu province and 20 for Kashmir province have been started.

Self-governing institutions have been introduced in rural areas by throwing open the posts of village officials : viz., Lambardars and Zaildars to election on the basis of adult franchise, and constituting tehsil and district councils. Each district and tehsil in Jammu and Kashmir has been provided with a Council which acts in supervisory and advisory capacity *vis-a-vis* the district and tehsil administration in each district and tehsil.

PUBLIC HEALTH

An idea of the strain to which the Department of Public Health was put can be formed from the fact that over one and a half lakh refugees were treated for various diseases and injuries

inflicted upon them by the wanton atrocities of the raiders, and about two lakh vaccinations, injections, and inoculations given to keep them immune from various epidemic diseases. As a result of the setting up of an Isolation Hospital, an Epidemiological Laboratory and Mobile dispensaries, the mortality rate figures appear to have dwindled a little this year. As a result of a campaign to register the cases of T.B., 10,000 cases were attended to. The B.C.G. campaign has also been started in the State with the help of the International Tuberculosis Organisation. X-ray, Electro-Therapeutic, Electro-car-diographme and Ultra Violet Lamps apparatus has been imported to equip the hospitals in the State.

INDUSTRIES

The invasion of the country had brought the industrial life of the country to a stand-still. In the case of the timber industry, the forest lessees and their staff had fled away and the river transport available through the Jhelum and the Chenab to the rail heads at Jhelum and Wazirabad had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The lessees had suffered a loss of over two crores of rupees. The Government therefore granted remissions on unpaid royalties for the leases of the years 1946-47 and 1947-48 amounting over 75 lakhs of rupees. Motor transport was available at cheap rates, so that the timber could be carried to the nearest new rail link at Pathankot within two or three days as compared to several months taken by floating. The industry has revived and today besides providing employment to a large bulk of people, the revenue to the State has increased to Rs. 55 lakhs from Rs. 29 lakhs in 1947. For the expansion of the Silk Industry, orders have been placed in France for fresh plants. The average monthly income of a Weaver has increased to about Rs. 100 now. The Drug Research Laboratory in Jammu is now the single premier pharmaceutical concern which meets the needs of Northern India, though as a result of the partition Pakistan has stopped supply of alcohol, chemicals and other raw drugs. The Kashmir Industrial Arts Emporium which was set up soon after the formation of the present interim

National Government with branches at Amritsar, Delhi, Bombay, and Simla with a view to standardising the Kashmiri artisans product and to find market for it, eliminating the middle man altogether, has conducted a business to the tune of nearly 10 lakhs of rupees. The tourist industry which had ceased to exist, directly as a result of the invasion of the country by Pakistan, has been revived. A regular Department has been set up with representatives in different parts of the country to assist the visitors to Kashmir. All possible facilities are arranged to meet the requirements of the prospective visitors. There are now as many as 31 centres in India where permits for entry into Kashmir are issued. The result is that a permit for entry can be had in any principal city of India. There are first rate Deluxe tourist buses running at scheduled hours from Pathankot to Srinagar and back and between various health resorts and places of beauty. The Rest Houses and Dak Bungalows have been improved and all hotels and restaurants licensed. The results are encouraging. During the last two months about 5,000 visitors from different parts of the world have come here to enjoy the climate and scenic beauty.

SUPPLIES AND COOPERATIVES

The Supplies Organization was originally introduced during the last Great War, but prior to the formation of the present National Government, its activities were restricted to supervision of the distribution of controlled commodities imported in normal trade only. But now the Department has taken upon itself the task both of procuring and distributing all essential commodities. The Cooperative Organisation has through its Sales Depots ensured that all these commodities are within the easy reach of the population in each classified area for the purpose, called Halqa. The Kashmir Valley Food Control Department, which previously used to arrange procurement and distribution of paddy for only the city of Srinagar, is now looking to the needs of the people in the suburbs and of the landless villagers.

Cooperative movement has been introduced in the State with the object mainly of bringing the entire village life within its fold. Measures were taken to

- (i) scale down debts outstanding against members to the extent of their own repaying capacity.
- (ii) spread out the reduced debt over a number of years.
- (iii) take surrenders of lands and lease them back to the members of the societies for cultivation,
- (iv) finance crops,
- (v) encourage repayment in kind,
- (vi) supply necessities of life.

There are over three hundred multi-purpose societies which attend to the distribution of the necessities of life. Cooperative societies have been organised for the finding of markets in Kashmir Arts and Crafts.

There are about sixty industrial societies in the state. For the introduction of joint farming and joint village management, Cooperative Collective Farming Societies have been organised.

TRANSPORT

A large number of vehicles plying between Kashmir and the Punjab were detained in Pakistan while a good number of them were moved out of the State due to panic and many were rendered useless by enemy action. There was, therefore, a great danger of shortage of essential commodities owing to very few motor vehicles being fit for transporting. With the creation of Transport Department the transport situation improved considerably making for the availability of essential commodities, in particular during the winter season in 1948-49. This Department with a fleet of about 500 vehicles of its own, has been running profitably eversince its inception.

PUBLICITY

There are now two Radio Stations in the State disseminating knowledge and information and countering the false propaganda of the enemy. The Audio-Visual Publicity Organization has about four hundred centres in the State where Radio sets are installed to make facts known to the people of far-flung areas. Educational and other films are exhibited at different places.

REHABILITATION

A crore of rupees have already been spent on relief and rehabilitation works connected with refugees belonging to areas occupied by the enemy and those which have since been liberated. This is in addition to a sum of Rs. 42 lakhs provided by the Government of India for the re-settlement of refugees lying inside refugee camps. Besides provision of rations, medicines, blankets, clothes, etc. as gratuitous relief, the refugees have been granted interest-free loans for construction of houses, purchases of agricultural implements, etc. In order to relieve agriculturists, weavers of all kinds, Hanjis (boatmen), artisans and craftsmen, including embroiderers, manual labourers of all kinds and factory labourers, an ordinance was issued last year ordering the stay temporarily of realization of debts. Now five Debt Conciliation Boards each consisting of one whole-time Chairman and five members from the Districts have been formed. These Boards will help in amicable settlement between debtors and creditors and dismiss all claims in which one and a half times the principal has been paid.

The present administration has had a stormy birth and eversince it has been battling against abnormal conditions. Its work has, therefore, to be judged in the context of these conditions. The entire State was reduced to ashes as a result of the barbarous aggression and out of these ashes there has emerged the undying will of the people to change their destiny. Whatever progress we have been able to achieve has

mainly been due to the unstinted support and ungrudging cooperation of our people. So far we feel we have travelled forward hopefully but our objective is still ahead. We have no doubt that once the cramping complications, in which we are hedged at present, end, we shall grow from strength to strength till the ideals laid down in our Charter of Liberties, the 'New Kashmir', are achieved.

28

Land Reforms in Jammu and Kashmir

Soon after the assumption of power the national Government devoted its attention to fulfil its commitments made in the New Kashmir—the un-official charter of the people—in regard to the liquidation of intermediaries and the vesting of ownership of the land in the tillers of the soil.

Early in 1948 the start was made with the resumption of all Jagirs, Muafis and Mukararis, except those made for religious purpose. 396 Jagirs and Muafis involving about Rs. 5,56,313 and 2,347 Mukararis involving about Rs. 1,77,921 annually were liquidated. The abolition of these feudal privileges not only saved the State about Rs. seven lakhs per annum but also relieved the peasants of the crushing burdens of payment in kind to the tune of Rs. 3.25 lakhs and released 4,250 acres of land granted by way of self-cultivation and residential units to the Jagirdars in favour of the cultivators of the soil.

In October, 1948, the Government amended the State Tenancy Act, 1924. By amending the old law, it granted fixity of tenure to the tenants in respect of tenancy holdings not exceeding 2-1/8 acres of wet or 4-1/8 acres of dry land in the Kashmir province and about double the size in the Jammu province; fixed the maximum rental payable by a tenant to his landlord in respect of tenancy holdings exceeding 12.5 acres at 1/4th of produce (or cash value thereof) in case of

wet lands (including those growing paddy, wheat, maize and linseed) and at 1/3rd in case of dry lands; provided for summary re-instatement on land of a tenant ejected otherwise than in due course of law and simplified the procedure for the partition of Shamilat land with a view to permitting the weaker sections of the cultivating classes to occupy and appropriate the shares of land due to them.

The amended law also provided for summary reinstatement of a tenant, who has been wrongfully ejected after April, 1947 and prohibited the execution after 18th November, 1948 of Government orders or decrees passed by any court against a tenant who has acquired the right of protected tenancy.

To further alleviate the distress of the poverty stricken people of the State, the Distressed Debtors Relief Act, 2006 was enacted. This relieved the agriculturists, the artisans and the village menials of the burden of their accumulated debts. The measure also provided for the restitution of mortgaged property which included boats pawned by the debtors with their creditors. This Act also contained a provision for constituting Debt Conciliation Boards to bring about voluntary conciliation Boards to bring about voluntary conciliation between the debtors and creditors. Such boards were established and debt claims upto nearly Rs. 175 lakh were conciliated by them and scaled down of Rs. 85 lakh. Moreover mortgaged debts of the value of Rs. 14.59 lakh were liquidated.

On the 13th July, 1950, the 19th anniversary of the Martyr's Day the Government made the historic decision of transferring land to the tiller and on the 17th October, 1950 was passed the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act. By the enactment of the Big Landed Estates abolition Act, 2007 a ceiling was placed on all proprietary holdings at 22.75 acres (plus orchards, Araks, Kahi Krisham, Kaps and other unculturable land). The surplus land (above the ceiling) was transferred to the tillers holding it to the extent of their actual cultivating occupation on 1st Kartik, 2007 (17th October, 1950)

or was vested in the State, where it was not so held. The tiller was made the full owner of the land transferred to him. As a result of this about 9,000 land owners were expropriated without payment of compensation from the surplus land (above the ceiling) amounting to about 4.5 lakh acres out of which about 2.3 lakh acres were transferred to the tillers in ownership right, free from any encumbrances. The expropriated landlords were, however, paid an annuity representing a proportion of the land revenue assessment of the expropriated land subject to a maximum of Rs. 3,000 per annum for a period of one and a half year.

In addition to the above measures of vesting proprietary rights in the landless tillers and providing the peasantry relief from indebtedness the institutions of Safedposhes and Zaildars were abolished as it was felt that they were only a drag on the public exchequer. The post of the village headman which was hereditary, was thrown open to elections.

First Five Year Plan

The State of Jammu and Kashmir having to a great extent already marched ahead of almost all other sister states of India in respect of the land reforms, much was not left to be done in the First Five Year Plan period. In order, however, to lay down a sound, adequate and rational land policy the State Government in October, 1953 constituted a 'Land Laws Committee' whose functions and terms of reference were to review the reforms already made, to find out lacunas in such measures and to suggest further progressive measures of a phased nature. As a result of the recommendations of the Committee the following further prominent measures were adopted:

Amendment in the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 2007.—

- (i) In order to remove ambiguity which the word "proprietor" occurring in the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 2007 was causing particularly in a joint Hindu family, it was clearly stated in the amendment that only the father with his male

lineal descendants in the male line of descent would be deemed to be the person owning the land.

- (ii) The Act was specifically applied to such lands as were owned or held by or on behalf of late Maharaja Sir Hari Singh.
- (iii) Land Development Cess was abolished
- (iv) A ban was put on the transfer of unculturable lands.

Fixity of Tenures, Rents and Resumptions etc. With a view to guarantee fixity of tenure to the tenants and to remove the difficulties that had been observed in the implementation of land reforms, the tenancy law was modified and the amended Tenancy Act provided that :

- (i) All the tenants have acquired the right of protected tenancy in respect of the land held by them in cultivating occupation on 9th December, 1953, except where such land is owned by the State or is situated within the existing limits of a Municipality or a Notified Area of such Town Areas as are specified by the Revenue Minister.
- (ii) Every landlord is bound to give receipt for rent paid to him by the tenant failing which he becomes to pay a fine upto Rs. 50/-
- (iii) Any arrears of rent due for more than one harvest in cases where it pertained to the period before 9th December 1955, became payable in instalments extending over a period of not more than three years where 1/4th of the produce was payable as rent and not more than six years where 1/2 of it was so payable. Payment in similar instalments was permitted to be made in case of arrears after 9th December, 1955.
- (iv) If the claim for arrears of rent was found to be false and frivolous or vexations, the landlord was liable

to pay an amount not exceeding Rs. 50/- as compensation to the tenant.

- (v) Every landlord, whose holding did not exceed four acres of Abi or six acres of Khushki land in the Kashmir province including the districts of Ladakh and Gilgit and six acres of Abi or eight acres of Khushki land in the Jammu province, was permitted to resume for personal cultivation a unit of land not more than two acres of Abi or four acres of Khushki land in the Kashmir Province including districts of Ladakh and Gilgit and 4 acres of Abi or 6 acres of Khushki in the Jammu Province including such land as was held by him in his personal cultivation.
- (vi) Every landlord, whose holding exceeded the size specified was also declared entitled to resume the same amount of land for personal cultivation provided that no tenant can, as a result of such resumption, be ejected in a manner so as to reduce his tenancy to less than two acres of Abi or four acres of Khushki land in the Kashmir Province including the district of Ladakh and Gilgit and four acres of Khushki land in the Jammu province.
- (vii) Any landlord who, after 9th December, 1953, ejects any tenant otherwise than in due course of law will forfeit his right to resume for personal cultivation the quantum of land from which the tenant is so ejected.
- (viii) The landlord must bring under his personal cultivation the land resumed by him within a period of six months in case of Dofasli (double cropping) land and within one year in case of Ekfasi (single crop) land from the date its possession is taken by him, failing which he will forfeit his right to hold such land for personal cultivation.

- (ix) Any tenant, who was ejected forcibly after 9th December, 1955 can make an application for summary reinstatement within six months of the date of such ejection. If it is found that he has been illegally ejected, he shall be restored to possession and a fine not exceeding Rs. 200/- may be imposed on the landlord and the tenant may even be awarded a portion of it as compensation for his wrongful disturbance.
- (x) Any tenant, who was ejected from his tenancy forcibly before 9th December, 1955 but not earlier than 1st Baisakh, S. 2004 could make an application for summary reinstatement within six months from 9th December 1995. If the tenant is not restored possession of either the whole or part of the land from which he has been ejected forcibly, he is entitled to compensation not exceeding Rs. 200/- for wrongful disturbance and such compensation shall be payable by the landlord.
- (xi) Whoever ejects otherwise than in due course of law a tenant from land or a part thereof on which he has reinstated shall be liable to be punished with imprisonment upto one year or with fine upto Rs. 500/- or both and the tenant shall be reinstated on his tenancy. A part of the fine may be paid as compensation to the tenant so ejected.
- (xii) The right of protected tenancy cannot be alienated but is heritable.

Assignment of land for village sites : The village sites set apart for the construction of houses by the village community during the last Settlement of land revenue, some three to four decades ago, had shrunk considerably due to the increase in population, rise in the standard of living and the general conditions of prosperity that the land and other reforms have ushered in the rural areas. In order to meet the legitimate demands of the village community for living space the Jammu

and Kashmir Common Lands (Regulation) Act, 1956, was passed. This act *inter-alia* provided for the assignment of land for the village sites and clearly defined the rights of the peasant proprietors over the path-ways, water courses, tanks, wells and other sources of irrigation and places used for common and public purposes.

FURTHER MEASURES

Ban on Conversion of Paddy Growing Lands into Orchards

There was growing trend among Zamindars to convert paddy growing lands into orchards with a view to growing cash crops and to defeat the provisions of any possible future legislation which might have prevented such lands from passing into the hands of tillers or the Government. Such conversions had started affecting adversely the production of staple food in the State. To put a stop to it, an amendment in the Land Revenue Act was effected, by which a person who may use his paddy growing land for any other purpose could be asked to restore the land to its original position and if he failed to comply with such a requisition he has made liable to pay a recurring fine. This measure alone has not proved to be sufficient to achieve the purpose. A Bill has therefore been introduced in the Legislature the object of which to put a total ban on conversion into orchards, not only of the paddy growing lands but of all food growing lands.

Allotment of available State and Evacuee's lands : To achieve increased production and appease the growing land hunger of the landless agricultural labourers Government Order No. LB-7/C of 1958 which aimed at the allotment of available State and Evacuee lands in a rational, equitable and socially just manner was issued. This order aimed at allotment of land for cultivation in order of priority—first preference being given to the landless agricultural labourers including the displaced persons, ex-servicemen, flood sufferers etc. A basic unit of a maximum of two acres of Abi and three acres of Khushki land including that which may already be owned by

the allottee has been prescribed. The order has now been made applicable to the whole of Jammu province and to such lands in the Leh District as have been irrigated or are likely to be irrigated by means of minor irrigation channels under the project schemes.

The allotments which are now being made are, however, subject to the condition that the allottee shall cultivate the land personally by his own labour; produce at least 12 maunds of grain per acre; his land could be acquired for cultivation on cooperative basis, if and when, so required and he will have no objection to the land being brought under any future scheme of consolidation of holdings. Contraventions of any of these conditions shall make the allotment liable to cancellation. Private lands escheated to the State under the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act cover an area of about 2-33 lac acres of which some has already been allotted and the allotment regularised. Waste lands available in the State as may be cultivable can also be allotted in pursuance of this order.

Unallotted evacuee lands also will in future be allotted in the manner prescribed in this order. Moreover very huge chunks of land have also been brought under tractorisation in Akhnur, Samba, Hiranagar and R.S. Pura tehsils. Efforts are afoot to bring under tractorisation lands between the cease-fire line and the Border Pickets in the Poonch District.

Regularisation of past Nautors : Since the last Settlement there has been a clandestine process for years together of occupation of Government lands, in some cases even without the payment of land revenue. In the absence of a defined in respect of the occupation and use of such lands a confused state of affairs continued; thus causing loss to the State on the one hand and on the other keeping the cultivator in a lurking suspicion of the course of Law. Government Order No. : LB-6/C of 1956 which aimed at the regularisation of such Nautors (including Nautors from escheated lands) and the conferment of the status of tenants-at-will on such

occupants was, therefore, issued. The order provided different rates of land revenue for different uses to which land was put viz; orchards plantations, residential buildings and ordinary cultivation. The occupants in whose favour possession has been regularized cannot transfer, sublet or fail to cultivate for more than one year or use the land for any purpose other than the growing of food. Should any such tenant-at-will not accept or contravene any of the above mentioned conditions, he shall be liable to ejectment and payment of land revenue for the period of occupation.

In a progressive agrarian economy one could not rest content with what we may have achieved so far. The Government have, therefore, in order to lay out a future land policy, set up a Commission, the terms of reference for which among other things are to have a probe into the existing land laws and find out lacunas in them as also to suggest further measures about bringing the tillers of the soil into direct relationship with the State, level down rents, utilise all possible sources of land in a rational manner and take all other measures to have maximum production out of the land, and to permit the tillers of the soil to develop a personality.

29

Kashmir's Economic Progress

*By
Jawaharlal Nehru*

Kashmir is a very big question. Perhaps—why ‘perhaps’?—it is the most difficult of all the problems between India and Pakistan. But we must always remember that Kashmir is not a thing to be bandied about between India and Pakistan. It has a soul of its own; it has an individuality of its own. We cannot—much less can Pakistan—play with it as if it were a political game between the two countries. Nothing can be done without the goodwill of the people of Kashmir.

But I might say this. In recent months there has been very considerable progress in Kashmir. I doubt if Kashmir has been as prosperous for many long years as it is today in regard to food, in regard to other goods, and in regard to development schemes undertaken. There is the Sindh Valley Electric Works which will be extraordinarily useful to the whole Valley of Kashmir. It will assist industrial development and will also facilitate lighting. The value of the Sindh works will be specially realized if it is remembered that the old powerhouse at Mahoba, constructed 40 to 50 years ago, is on the point of collapse. Then we have started the great project, the Banihal tunnel. Numerous small projects are bringing about a new atmosphere in the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It can thus be seen that conditions are more satisfactory in Kashmir both from the political and the

economic point of view than they have been for a long time. I do not say that everything is totally satisfactory. But things are on the move.

(*Speech in Lok Sabha, 31 March, 1955*)

30

The Cotton Industry : Brief History

*By
M. Ganju*

As compared to either the woollen industry or the silk industry, the cotton industry is a very small industry in State. It is more an industry of the Jammu province than of Kashmir. But before the cheap mill-made cotton manufactures from abroad made in roads into Kashmir the province was almost self-sufficient in this respect. Though in small quantities, cotton was grown in almost every part of the Province, a kind of cotton cloth, called 'Ladakh' used to be woven during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; it was "of a texture particularly close, though not fine, and of exceeding durability." An attempt was made thereafter to introduce "brown cotton" from Yarkand into the Valley of Kashmir. The tint of this product was gradually lost, and the third crop was as white as the local cotton. But on the whole the cultivation of cotton was "not much attended to", and the total produce never exceeded the consumption within the province itself. Production was for supplying personal needs. Almost every household used to spin. Weaving was done by the villagers themselves, often with the help of the hired labour.

Year after year during the last century the imports of cotton piece... goods increased and took the place of hand-

spuns in the province of Kashmir. Even the remote villages of the province were flooded with these mill manufactures. The first quarter of the present century, particularly the post-war period, saw the collapse of the cottage cotton industry in the Valley of Kashmir. Since then it has not shown any signs of revival. The weavers turned to woollens, and this was one of the factors which helped the progress in the woollen piece-goods (particularly chadders) industry after it had suffered a blow towards the end of the nineteenth century.

However, before the outbreak of the present war, there used to be in Srinagar more than 400 weavers engaged in the manufacture of cotton *puchas*, a type of cloth used for ladies' head wear in Kashmir. For this purpose foreign mill yarn was used. At present, due to the present war, there is acute scarcity of foreign yarn, with the consequence that labour has been thrown out of employment, and the industry has almost died down.

Very little cotton is grown now in Kashmir itself. However, considerable quantities of raw cotton and cotton yarn are imported from India. But how much of this is used in the Namda Industry, and how much for cotton piece-goods is not known. Judging from the information we have been able to get, it appears that only an insignificant portion of the imports is used for manufacturing cotton cloth, most of it being used for the Namda industry.

As regards the Jammu province, the cotton industry has always been the main subsidiary industry. Whereas Kashmir used to produce cotton stuffs for local consumption, Jammu used to produce the same for export as well. Thus this industry was an important source of income, and its decline produced grave repercussions on the economic life of the villagers in Jammu. The causes of the decline here were the same as those in Kashmir.

Yet the industry showed more tenacity in Jammu than in Kashmir, the reason for which is obvious. Kashmir never

paid much attention to cotton weaving, and when the cheap mill-made cloth was found available in the market, the cottage weaver there took readily to wool weaving, which has always been the main subsidiary industry in the province. But a Jammu weaver had no such industry to fall back upon. He had either to carry on with his trade or to change his profession altogether. Thus many who could find some other employment changed over, but others had to stick to their own. The total production, however, fell sharply and Jammu, instead of being able to export, had now to import cotton piece goods.

Raw Material

Cotton raw and yarn are the main raw materials which a cottage weaver should have, other raw materials being dyes, flour and a few other items of minor importance. Cotton is grown in limited quantities within the State. But large quantities are imported to supplement the local produce. The following table shows the land under cotton cultivation in the State, district-wise.

Land Under Cotton Cultivation in the State (1939-40)

Kashmir Province		Jammu Province		Frontier Districts.	
Districts	Acres	Districts	Acres	Districts	Acres
Anantnag	1,913	Jammu	7,776	Ladakh Dist.	Nil
Baramulla	1,471	Udhampur	1,378	Bonji & Astore	"
Muzaffarabad	32	Reasi	1,586		
		Kathua	4,875		
		Mirpur	8,298		
Total	3,416		23,913		Nil

Thus in 1939-40 there were in all 27,329 acres of land under cotton cultivation throughout the State, out of which

only 3,416 acres or about 12 per cent of the total acreage under this head was in Kashmir and the rest in the Jammu province.

The soil in Jammu on the whole is sandy and rocky, and irrigation is very difficult with the result that the yield per acre of land is very meagre. In the tehsils of Jammu and Rambirsinghpura, however, where irrigation is improved and the soil is comparatively better, the yield per acre is estimated to be between 200 and 300 seers of cotton including seeds, etc. But in Mirpur, which shows the largest acreage under this cultivation, the yield is the least recorded in the State, being 10 to 12 seers per acre.

In Kashmir, in the districts of Anantnag and Baramulla, the yield per acre of land has been estimated at about 160 seers, or slightly more; except where the soil is sandy and slopy — defects which reduce the yield by about 10 seers per acre of land.

According to the Director of Land Records, the average yield per acre of land for the whole State can be taken as four maunds or 160 seers, including seeds and other impurities in the raw cotton. The seeds and other impurities constitute about 4/5ths, leaving 1/5th as pure cotton. According to these calculations the average yield per acre of land for the whole State comes to about 32 seers, or about 65 lbs. (82 lbs per maund) as against 104 lbs. and 102 lbs. on an average for 1940-41 and 1941-42 respectively for the whole of India, and 285 lbs. for America.

The cotton produced in the State as a whole is of an inferior quality, and there are no possibilities for the growth of long staple cotton.

This raw cotton is generally spun by the womenfolk in their own homes, usually for home consumption. The yarn thus spun is handed over to a nearby weaver who does weaving on piece-wage basis. There is, therefore, very little trade in hand-spun cotton yarn in the State.

The second source of raw material is imports. The following table shows the position in this respect. The imports of yarn have been given for seven years, but the raw cotton imports are available only for five years.

Imports of Cotton Twist, Yarn and Raw in Maunds

Year	Cotton twist and yarn Indian	Cotton twist and yarn European	Total of both in maunds	Cotton Raw in Maunds
1933-34	13,612	1,298	14,910	4,803
1934-35	14,848	1,010	15,858	3,832
1935-36	13,787	599	14,386	4,168
1936-37	13,268	273	13,541	3,924
1937-38	15,699	410	16,109	8,307
1938-39	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
1939-40	12,600	1,008	13,608	8,278
1940-41	16,770	544	17,304	13,246

The fluctuations in the imports might be attributed to the changes in local cotton production, that is, more imports with less home produce, and *vice versa*. But the sharp rise in the imports of raw cotton during the year 1937-38, and thereafter is possibly due to the establishment of the Namda industry that year in Kashmir, which created a great demand for a superior variety of Indian cotton.

These are the two sources which feed the cotton industry in the State. The exports of either raw cotton or of yarn from the State are negligible, often nil.

Present Extent

According to the Director of Industries' estimates, the total yardage of cotton cloth produced annually in the State is 1,14,64,800 valued at Rs. 12,08,841. The basis of these estimates is not known. Possibly these figures have been arrived at on

the basis of the estimated average out-turn per loom in the State. The limitations of such an estimate should be obvious in view of the fact that no dependable figures either of the number of looms or of the number of workers in the industry are available.

Another method of estimating the present position would be to calculate the same on the basis of raw material utilized. Here again, however, statistics are not available about cotton consumption in the industries other than cotton piece-goods. In such circumstances, we simply give the following facts and figures, without attempting to draw any definite conclusions from them.

1. Total acreage under cotton cultivation in the State in 1939-40	27,329
2. Yield per acre of land on an average	65 lbs.
3. Total yield for the whole State in maunds	21,065
4. Imports of raw cotton in 1937-38	8,307
5. Imports of twist and yarn	16,109
6. Export of cotton raw	3
7. Export of yarn	10

Thus the total supply of raw material available in the State is 29,369 maunds of raw cotton, and 16,099 maunds of cotton twist and yarn. Out of this supply, however, allowance is to be made for the following items:

(a) The Namda industry consumes about 6,250 maunds of raw cotton and 312 maunds of cotton yarn. (b) Consumption of cotton yarn in the Gubha embroidery industry might be even double the quantity of yarn required for the Namda industry. (c) Cotton yarn required for use in the carpet industry (both woollen pile-carpets as well as cotton 'Satranjies') is to be accounted for, and the quantity thus required may, on a very rough estimate, be 4 to 5 times that required for the Gubha industry or 8 to 10 times that for the

Namda Industry. (d) Raw cotton for stuffing of quilts, mattresses, pillow, etc. is to be set aside, the consumption of which articles, because of the cold climate of the country, is huge in Kashmir. Besides, raw cotton is used for surgical purposes as well. Cotton ropes are also used for many purposes. Allowing the consumption under all these heads to be at a cautious estimate of 1/16th of seer of cotton per head per annum, the total consumption for 4 million people in the State amounts to 6,250 maunds. Even with 1/32th of a seer per head per annum the total comes to no less than 3,125 to 3,000 maunds (both raw cotton and ropes).

When due allowance is made for all these items, it would be possible to know the total volume of production of cotton piece-goods and the present extent of the industry in the State.

Marketing

There is no regular or even uniform method of marketing the hand-woven cotton goods throughout the State. The Kashmiri villager mostly produces for his personal requirements and the question of marketing in his case does not arise.

In Jammu there is a special class of workers who weave cloth during winter months. If they find a customer on the spot, they sell their products on the spot. Otherwise they set out during the summer season for the hilly tracts of the province, or even cross into Kashmir and dispose of the goods among the villagers there. Some times they are lucky enough to find a wholesaler who buys up their whole lot, though at some sacrifice of margin on the part of the weavers. Often the goods have to be sold on credit, and thus the weaver's money gets locked up for months in far off places.

Some village weavers in Jammu weave on the piece-wage system. These people mostly depend on those who spin cotton in their own homes, and get the same manufactured with the help of hired labour. Such stuffs are generally made

for personal consumption. Thus whatever trade in the hand-woven cloth takes place in the province is usually due to the manufactures made of machine spun yarn, imported from outside the State.

There are some traders in the province of Jammu who buy yarn from outside on a wholesale basis, sell the same to cottage weavers on cash or credit, often at prohibitive prices, and then buy the manufactures at prices which sometimes deprive the weavers of any profit.

A few establishment in Jammu manufacture cloth on their own account, and sell the same through sales depots. Here the marketing of goods is fairly systematic.

The latest development in this respect has been the establishment of the A.I.S.A. branch in Jammu. The branch is expected to help the cotton weaving industry in that province.

The *pucha* weavers in Srinagar have a marketing method of their own. A class of people, called *Khurda Farosh* Sell *puchas* along with the Pashmina cloth, brocades, and such other articles required by ladies. These *Khurda Faroshes* go to the *pucha* weavers, and buy *puchas* on the spot. Usually there is no higgling about the prices which are fixed by custom, and do not change proportionately with the change in the price of yarn. The weavers are usually left with a good margin of earnings. The *Khurda Faroshes* then go from house to house, pay several visits to their old customers, and induce them to buy something almost each time. These people are very clever at their trade, and know how to humour their customers.

Labour and Efficiency

Several difficulties confront us when we try to make an estimate of the labour employed in the cotton textile industry of the State. Estimates on the basis of raw material do not lead us anywhere in this case. There are no data available in regard to the quantity of raw cotton and yarn consumption in the State. We have already given above an estimate of the

total quantity of cotton raw and yarn available in the country. But we do not exactly know how much of the total quantity is utilized by other industries. The Namda industry, on the basis of 2,50,000 Namdas as the annual Namda production, each Namda requiring about one seer of cotton, would consume about 6,250 maunds of raw cotton, besides 312 maunds of cotton yarn. A large quantity of raw cotton is used for stuffing mattresses, quilts, pillows, for surgical purposes, the extent of which is not known. Again cotton yarn is used for the Gubha embroidery work, the warping of the woollen pile-carpets as well as the warping and weft of cotton carpets, called Satranji are also to be fed on the imported yard. Besides, the cotton imports include cotton ropes, and the quantity of the same is not known. In such circumstances it is not possible to find out the quantity of raw material used in the cotton textile industry and thus to build up therefrom our estimates of labour employed.

According to the figures supplied to us by the Director of Industries, the total number of cotton weaving looms in the province of Jammu is 6,051, out of which 5,304 are working and 747 lying idle, and that there are 300 working looms in Kashmir, besides some other looms seasonally employed for cotton weaving. If we count one weaver per loom, the number of regular weavers in the whole State comes to 6,804, or 5,304 weavers in the province of Jammu alone. The director's figures, however, show that there are 6,660 weavers in Jammu (besides 3,128 others who follow textile industries as a subsidiary). But it is mentioned that these figures include not only the cotton weavers, but wool and silk weavers too. At the same time these figures are at variance with the figures given by the Department in its own publication "*Handloom Wearing Industry in the province of Jammu*." The publication, while referring to the Census report of 1931, remarks that there were 6,660 workers, representing spinners, sizers and weavers, supported by the cotton industry (the place is not given to show whether the number represented Jammu alone or the whole State), besides 3,128 others who followed the industry

as a subsidiary occupation. Curiously enough the Department has taken the figure of 6,660 whole-time workers (spinners, sizers and weavers) and 3,128 part-time workers, to represent not only the cotton industry, but all textiles, and 6,660 workers not to stand for spinners, sizers and weavers together, but for weavers alone. It is difficult, therefore, to know what the exact position in this respect is.

Hence, nothing definite can be said about the total labour strength in the cotton textile industry of the State, except that about more than 400 weavers are in Srinagar, engaged for about 20 months in a year (the other two months are devoted by them to raffle weaving) in the manufacture of *puchas*, that in Kashmir there are very few villagers who weave cotton for self-consumption and that too occasionally, and that it is the province of Jammu which is important in this respect. The total number throughout the State of regular cotton weavers, however, is considered by the experts not to exceed 2,000 besides many more who follow the industry as a subsidiary to their main occupations of agriculture, domestic work or any other calling, as spinners, weavers, etc.

The cottage weavers possess hereditary skill, and there is, in general, no apprenticeship in vogue, except at Srinagar and that too in a few cases. No artistic touch is founding the cotton manufactures of the State.. The cloth produced is used by villagers. The manufactures are usually coarse, the texture uneven and loose and the designs, if any, antique. The weavers in the Jammu province mostly use pit-hand-looms with throw shuttle and frame-hand-looms are used by some in the city of Jammu, at Mirpur and a few villages more. A few establishments at Jammu, employing from 4 to 20 weavers each, produce some shirting, coating, etc. which, however, show a considerable degree of efficiency in respect of texture and design.

The Kashmir weavers are also on the same footing in this respect. But the majority of them being *pucha* weavers manufacture as fine a stuff as at the pre-war price they could

sell a yard of cloth (about 1/2 to 5/8 yard in width) at annas seven and their earning capacity was thus many times more than a Jammu weaver's. Due to the scarcity of yarn these days, almost all of these *pucha* weavers are now out of employment. But about 50 to 100 weavers have been re-employed in the manufacture of turbans and drill cloth for the State. The efficiency of art shown by them in this respect is praiseworthy.

A concern started recently at Srinagar has been producing cotton stuffs for tapestry work, and the efficiency shown by the weavers there has surpassed the efficiency shown by the cotton weavers elsewhere in the State. This concern has only seven handloom with fly shuttles and the total produce is not much. On the whole the efficiency of cotton weavers in the State is very poor and exceptions to this are very few.

Wages and Standard of Living

According to the earning capacity of each division, the whole class of weavers may be divided into three main divisions, (1) village weavers, (2) weavers in establishments, and (3) weavers in Srinagar or *pucha* weavers.

- (1) In Kashmir, it has already been explained that village weavers very seldom weave cotton, and if they do, it is for their own consumption. Hence their earnings cannot be measured.

The village weavers in the province of Jammu work under many diverse conditions and systems. Some work on a piece-wage system. Some work on their own account and then hunt out customers wherever possible. Whatever the systems under which these workers work, one thing is common to all, that is, not a single group gets work all the year round. When one piece or one lot is finished, the wage-earners come out to canvass more work from house to house, and the independent weavers search for customers from place to place. Their earnings are thus greatly reduced when the

calculations are made on a yearly basis. A weaver might weave from 8 to 12 yards of cotton cloth in a day and thereby earn about 6-9 annas a day, about 3 pice per yard. But there are some places where work is scarce and the wages far less.

Thus nothing definite can be said about the earning capacity of the village weavers, except that they somehow manage to eke out their livelihood from their ancestral industry which they know is not sufficiently remunerative, but which they cannot give up as there is nothing else to fall back upon.

The standard of living of these weavers is unimaginably low. It is only thus that with such small earnings, they continue to live.

(2) These weavers are found in small establishments at Jammu proper. They work on piece wages, and the wages per yard of cloth woven may vary from an anna to $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas, the determining factor being the quality of cloth to be woven. But since the weaver's output also varies according to the quality of cloth to be manufactured, their earnings almost remain the same, whether a weaver weaves a superior quality or an inferior one. On an average their daily wages come to about 8 annas.

Under this system not only to the weaver get higher wages with more working days in a year, but in addition they are required neither to procure raw materials, nor to market their manufactures. Thus on the whole their position is far better than that of the village weavers working on their own account.

(3) These weavers are confined to Khanyair side, in Srinagar. For about 10 months of the year, these weavers used until recently to manufacture *puchas* and for the other two months, raffle cloth. Whatever the variety of cloth woven by them, their earnings would almost remain the same. The cotton *pucha*

manufacture was financed by the weavers themselves, though the manufacture of woollens (raffle cloth) used often to be financed by some raffle merchants. On the whole the financial position of these weavers was as sound as to enable them to have an independent position in the industry. The earnings of these weavers can be inferred from the following statistics.

Quality No.1 cotton yarn for *pucha* manufacture used to be bought by the weavers at Rs. 25 per *puri* or bundle of 10 lbs., about 30 *rads* or lengths of *puchas* would be manufactured out of one *puri* or bundle of yarn. A weaver of average efficiency could manufacture one *pucha rad* in one day of 8 hours, with an interval for tea and breakfast, and a little rest. Besides himself, the weaver would require the services of his wife for 2-3 hours in a day for preparing bobbins, etc. The price of this one *rad* would be Rs. 2/8/. The amount earned by the weaver thus would be Rs. 5/2 minus 5/6 = Rs. 1/5/4 per day. Sometimes a very efficient weaver could earn as much as Rs. 1/12/ or even Rs. 2 per day On an average, however, a weaver earned between Re. 1 and Rs. 1/8 a day, the determining factor being the efficiency of the weaver, the time devoted to the work per day and the nature of the work. The weavers used to work about 300 days in the year.

At present, however, there is a tremendous rise in the prices of yarn, comparatively with very small rise in the prices of *puchas*. The manufacture of *puchas*, therefore, does not leave any margin to the weavers, with the result that they have closed down their shops and are idling their time. Some of them have been provided with some work by the State. But their earnings per day do not exceed 8 annas.

The standard of living of these weavers is high as compared to other cotton weavers in the State. Their places of living are comparatively decent. Their diet and clothing are better. But at present they are having very bad days. With no or very small income on the one hand, and with the increased

cost of living, on the other, the lot of these weavers has become pitiable.

Future

The production of cotton in the State is very small. In Kashmir province, because of the tendency towards growing competitive crops, no possibility of cotton cultivation to any large extent exists. The Jammu soil is mostly sandy, rocky and slopy, and the scope for cotton cultivation in large quantities and of better varieties does not seem promising even here. The cotton imported from India sells here cheaper than the cotton grown in the State which is because of the lesser yield per acre of land accompanied by a higher cost of production in the State than in India.

There is a suggestion from some quarters for the setting up of a cotton mill at Jammu, the nearest town of the State to the Punjab. And it is proposed to meet the requirements of the mill by cotton imports from outside the State as the home produce does not justify the enterprise. But having due regard to transport charges, it is very doubtful if the proposition could prove remunerative and beneficial. Even if the State is able to raise the required quantities of cotton within the State, the Punjab soil being more fertile than the Jammu soil, the price of the country cotton will be always higher than the imported cotton. These high prices of cotton or transport charges on the imported cotton will ultimately result in the higher cost of production of cotton cloth when compared to the cloth manufactured in British India. This will probably make it impossible for the mill to stand competition from Indian and foreign products.

It might be argued that this competition can be neutralised by raising tariff walls against foreign imports of yarn as well as piece-goods. Assuming that the internal market in the State will be sufficient to run the mill, will it be justifiable to raise the tariff walls for an unlimited time? The policy could be justified only if the industry expected to effect

a reduction in the cost of production within some specific period, otherwise it will be unjust to ask consumers to make sacrifices for all time. Besides there is already a heavy duty on cotton imports, and the consumers are already paying much. To force them to further sacrifice in the interest of an industry, the future of which is by no means very hopeful, would simply be harmful in the long run.

The only alternative left to us in the present circumstances is to induce the All-India spinners' Association and such other concerns to extend their operations throughout the province of Jammu. The Association has an organisation and goodwill, and it is thus able to get better prices for their products. It has recently started its branches at Samba and Jammu, and it may start other branches if State help is given. The State aid should be given in the form of loans and bounties, the extent of which should be decided by the authorities concerned in consultation with the All-India Spinners' Association.

[From *Textile Industries in Kashmir (Jammu and Kashmir State)*]

31

Under Sheikh Abdullah Kashmir Goes Ahead

On the last day of October, 1947, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, who had led the people of Jammu and Kashmir to revolt against serfdom for nearly two decades, was charged to deal with the emergency which had suddenly arisen as a result of Pakistan invasion of the State. Four days earlier no Government existed in the State. Well-equipped hordes from Pakistan had swooped down on the frontier town of Muzaffarabad and were now knocking at the gates of Srinagar—the capital of Kashmir. The capital itself had been abandoned but the people under the National Conference—Sheikh Abdullah's party—rose to defend their hearths and homes against the aggression of Pakistan unleashed on the peaceful valley with the fully fury of a religious war. Thousands of refugees from the sacked towns were pouring into the capital. The State Treasury was without cash and a run had started on the banks.

Today conditions in Kashmir are different. Firstly, with the aid of the Government and people of India, the invaders have been thrown back. Secondly, a popular Interim Government under Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah administers the State, which is determined to ameliorate the condition of the masses. Thirdly, the people of Kashmir have before them the prospect of complete freedom from tyranny and oppression which have been the order of the day in Kashmir for many centuries.

Sheikh Abdullah's Government and the National Conference have firmly set Kashmir on the path of progress. Starting from a scratch, the progress registered by the State under the new Administration in almost all directions has been outstanding keeping in view the circumstances under which Sheikh Abdullah accepted power, as readily admitted by impartial observers who have visited the State during the last two years.

Leaving aside the part played by them in stemming the tide of aggression and stabilizing the conditions in the State, Shiekh Abdullah and his colleagues have successfully tackled problems of national importance like the *Agrarian Question*, *Communications* and *Supplies* and the problem of *Relief and Rehabilitation*. The problems must be understood in the background of the conditions which prevailed in the State before assumption of power by the present Government.

The Agrarian Question

Kashmir has 8,903 villages with a population of 35,03,929 against a population of 3,62,314 living in the towns which are only 39 in number. For centuries, the peasantry of the State was subject to feudal exactions and had been denied all rights on the land. The real benefitors from the land were the jagirdars or absentee landlords, who were entrenched in "privileges" guaranteed to them by the State. Sheikh Abdullah's Government was faced with the question of either bringing relief to the peasantry or allow their poverty and misery to be used and exploited in ways as may have clearly given rise to similar unrest of which most of the Asian countries which did not take timely steps to solve their respective agrarian problems are prey today.

It is the policy of the present Government of Kashmir to ultimately allow land to go to the tiller of the land. In the meanwhile, the Government has taken the following measures as an immediate relief to the peasantry :

1. absentee landlordism has been abolished;
2. no tenant who has cultivated land for seven months before the passing of the new Tenancy Act may be evicted;
3. the tenant is entitled to 3/4hs of the produce of the land as against 1/4th only to which the proprietor is entitled;
4. village officials will henceforth be elected;
5. 40,000 acres of unattached land have been distributed amongst the landless peasants;
6. rationing has been introduced in the rural areas benefiting nearly two million people in the villages;
7. a moratorium has been placed on all non-commercial debts;
8. the peasants throughout the State have been provided with better and greater irrigation facilities for which purpose a separate Department has been bought into existence which is working on several new irrigation projects;
9. Rs. 5,00,000 (rupee is equivalent to 21 cents) have been distributed by the Government as flood relief in areas which were visited by floods during 1948-49.

The Government has also, in order to introduce new methods of cultivation with a view to stepping up of production of food, put into use a fleet of 13 tractors in the State. The Kashmir peasant is thereby being provided with all modern facilities of mechanised cultivation.

Communications

The problem of communications is vital for Kashmir. After the invasion, the Government was faced with the task

of building a transport organisation of its own in order to move supplies and stores from India. It may be mentioned here that Pakistan authorities looted away most of the vehicles belonging to the State which before the invasion used to ply on the Rawalpindi road. According a fleet of 351 vehicles costing nearly Rs. 10,00,000 was purchased by the Government to supplement the transport resources of private agencies. These vehicles employ nearly 2,000 people as drivers, cleaners and mechanics. To look after accessories are working at different places in the State.

With the aid of this transport, the Government was able to overcome the problems created by the economic blockade imposed by Pakistan before the invasion on the State. Today the position of essential supplies in the State is sound with ample reserves which are built in the beginning of every month. These supplies are distributed throughout the State with the aid of multi-purpose cooperative societies, which function in a group of each twenty villages.

A chain of new roads connecting some of the far flung areas of the State with various towns and cities has been laid. Places like Basohli in Jammu and Langet in Kashmir are now motorable roads connecting them with the respective capitals. A chain of air fields has simultaneously been built at various places in the State.

The Jammu-Srinagar road has been widened at many places and kept open throughout the year at a cost of Rs. 15,00,000. For the first time in the history of Kashmir, vehicles plied between Jammu and Srinagar even when the snow on the Banihal pass was 19 ft. deep. Baltal-Zojila and Sonnerwani-Gurez roads have been converted from bridle roads into jeep tracks.

Relief and Rehabilitation

The most serious problem demanding the attention of the new Government at the time of its taking over was that of

providing relief to and rehabilitating hundreds of thousands of refugees rendered homeless as a result of the invasion. Besides setting up a network of camps for their benefit, the Government spent huge sums amounting to over Rs. 3,75,000 in the first year in helping them in the shape of interest-free loans, free rations and free house-building materials. A separate department was created to look after these refugees and to rehabilitate them. Vast areas of land were reclaimed and distributed amongst them. Over 2,00,000 of these displaced persons have been rehabilitated so far, and the Government have spent over Rs. 12,75,000 on this work in the latter part of the year 1949.

Other Problems

To other problems like the *Industrial Revival* and *Reorganization of Health Services and Reshaping of the Educational System* in the State, the present Government has given due attention and considerable progress has been achieved in these directions as well.

Industrial Revival

1. Timber industry which had come to a stand-still as a result of the invasion has been revived. The Government paid Rs. 5,00,000 as remission on royalties on forest leases of 1946-47 and 1947-48. Over 2,76,470 cft. of timber were exported during 1948-49 from the State to India. The Government of India has ordered for an additional quantity of 5,00,000 cft. to be delivered early next year.
2. The whole out turn of raw silk amounting to over 11,50,000 lbs., which was mostly exported previously, is now being consumed locally providing work to over 6,000 weavers and a still large number of other workers. Raw silk has been made available to nearly 3,000 workers, with a view to providing work for

them, with the result that the average monthly income of every such worker is over Rs. 75. About Rs. 1,50,000 were distributed among workers in the Government Silk Factory by way of relief ranging from 1/8th to 1/3rd of their total earnings during the year 1947-48. Silk wastes, previously generally thrown away as useless, are now being successfully utilized for production of a new variety known as Matka silk, thus providing work to 7,000 workers. Production of silk-worms provides a subsidiary occupation to nearly 8,00,000 villagers.

3. The Mahura Power Generating Station, which supplies electricity to the valley having been damaged badly by Pakistani raiders, immediate steps were taken to repair it. To forestall a further breakdown of the station, over Rs. 1,25,000 are being spent this year on the Sind Valley Hydro-Electric-cum-Irrigation Project. The project will yield 6,000 kilowatts of electric energy in the beginning and 12,000 kilowatts when completed. About 475 cusecs of water will be carried by a canal about 9.66 miles long, out of which 300 cusecs will be required for generating purposes at Ganderbal about 13 miles from Srinagar and 175 cusecs utilized for irrigation purposes.
4. A sum of about Rs. 16,00,000 has been advanced to the Union of Kashmiri artisans and craftsmen, who hardpressed as a result of the conditions created by the invasion, to enable them restart production. Emporia for the marketing of their products have been set up in Delhi, Simla, Bombay, Srinagar and other places.
5. The work of the State's Drug Research Laboratory at Jammu was hampered as a result of the division of India as the supply of raw drugs which used to be imported from the then Punjab was stopped. All the material requirements of the industry, particularly

alcohol, which is its very life-blood are arranged from other parts of India—and the Laboratory is now not only functioning normally, but measures for its further expansion are under way.

Health Services

Many new experiments have been made in improving the Health services of the State, which had completely broken down in many parts as a result of the invasion.

1. About Rs. 4,50,000 out of the Sanitation Cess Fund are spent on the sanitation of rural areas.
2. Equipment worth about Rs. 7,85,000 has been set up in the Srinagar Central Hospital which not only includes the diagnostic but also therapeutic apparatus.
3. The hospital has been provided with Electro - Cardiogram for diagnosis of heart-diseases, ultra-violet lamps, etc.
4. A chain of new dispensaries has been set up in villages, and old dispensaries in the liberated areas have been restarted.
5. To combat tuberculosis, of which incidence in the State is high, a Chest Diseases Hospital has been organised; and orders have been placed in America for surgical equipment necessary to set up a new operation theatre in the Hospital.

Educational System

1. A University — University of Jammu and Kashmir has been set up fulfilling a long-felt demand of the people. With the aid of this University the rich cultural heritage of Kashmir is being recovered at a rapid pace.

2. The curriculum of studies is being overhauled so as to reorientate it in accordance with the new conditions obtaining in the country.
3. With a view to imparting education to children in their mother tongue, a script has been introduced for the Kashmiri language.
4. Over 300 schools in various liberated areas, which had been closed during the enemy occupation, were restarted.
5. A scheme of social education is being implemented. To start with, it is proposed to have 40 social education centres. The main features of social education are folkart, music and dancing.
6. To disseminate knowledge and culture, of which Kashmiris possess a proud heritage, two Radio Stations have been set up in the State with a network of community listening posts for the benefit of the common-folk.

Future plans

The future plans of the Government are envisaged in "New Kashmir," which the National Conference adopted as its programme as early as the year 1944. The "New Kashmir" Plan is a democratic and progressive approach to the solution of the problems confronting the toiling masses of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Its main objective is to make Kashmir free of the giant evils of want, disease, ignorance and squalor and usher in an era of peace and plenty.

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Progress Under the Plan

The total outlay approved for the 3rd plan was of the order of Rs. 75 crore. It is expected that an amount of Rs. 63.92 crore will have been utilized. An yearwise breakup of the figures is given below:-

	<u>Rs. in crore</u>
1961-62	10.37
1962-63	11.72
1963-64	10.57
1964-65	12.62
1965-66 (Revised)	18.64

2. Some of the factors which need to be kept in view while assessing the progress for the 3rd Plan period as a whole are the Chinese invasion in October, 1962 and Pakistani infiltration on a mass scale followed by an armed attack in August-September, 1965. We also suffered due to diesel shortage in the middle of 1965. Besides this there was an unprecedented draught last year which affected very adversely the programme of agricultural production. The Kharif crop in the State was very adversely affected. In the Valley paddy suffered a significant setback due to a long lingering winter which delayed sowing operations.

3. A brief account of the achievements made in the various sectors of our economy are indicated below:-

I. Agriculture, Irrigation and Soil Conservation

(i) Distribution of chemical fertilizers during 1965-66 is expected to have been about 3 lakh maunds. This quantity is expected to have covered about 3 lakh acres of cultivated land. The Government have also introduced a scheme giving Taccavi loans for purchase of fertilizers to farmers in such areas where cooperative societies have not come up so far. For granting of these loans delegation of powers have been given at various levels. Under these rules even a village level worker can also sanction a loan up to Rs. 50/- for each individual farmer. To meet the existing shortage of foodgrains. The Government have been subsidizing foodgrains. On the basis of the food import and local procurement programme for the current year a subsidy of over Rs. 7 crore will be paid on distribution of foodgrains. This would on an average mean a loss of about Rs. 37 per quintal of foodgrains.

For 1966-67, the programme is to distribute a quantity of 4.35 lakh maunds of fertilizers.

- (ii) An area of 3.47 lakh acres will have been covered with improved varieties of seeds. The area will be increased to 4.67 lakh acres during the current year.
- (iii) Under the Plant Protection Scheme an area of 60,000 acres will have been covered. This area for the current year will be 75,000 acres.
- (iv) For the development of horticulture we have now a full-fledged department. It is proposed to provide cold storage facilities. For this purpose construction of a cold storage plant at Srinagar is in Progress. It is also proposed to set up cold storage at Delhi, Kathua and Jammu.

- (v) An area of over 62,000 acres is expected to have been benefited due to irrigation. This figure includes stabilization of existing irrigation.

Work on one of the major canal schemes covering the Chhamb-Jaurian area had to be suspended. The work is proposed to be resumed now.

- (vi) An area of 14,750 acres is expected to have been covered under the programme of Soil Conservation on River Valley Projects.

- (vii) The most outstanding programme in view for the current year is boring of 100 tubewells in the border area. With this programme it is expected to bring under cultivation about 10,000 to 15,000 acres near the border area in Jammu province.

- (viii) An amount of Rs. 35 lakhs has been provided for relief works for the current year and Rs. 80 lakh for distress loan in the area hit by draught and adverse weather conditions.

II. Animal Husbandry and Sheep Breeding

- (i) Six Key Village Blocks, 8 Poultry Centres, 42 Veterinary Hospitals and Dispensaries were established. The total number of Veterinary Dispensaries by the end of 3rd plan were 143. During the current year six more veterinary dispensaries will be opened.

- (ii) For sheep development we have now a fulfilledged department. Sixty-four Sheep Development Centres were established during the 3rd plan. Besides this 19 centres were opened under backward and hill area development programme during 1965-66. By the end of 3rd plan we will be having 99 sheep development centres. For the current year 16 more centres are proposed to be established.

(iii) A beginning is proposed in respect of setting up of a large farm for development of mutton varieties of sheep.

III. Cooperation

- (i) Membership of Primary Agricultural Credit Societies was increased by about 40,000. Membership will be increased by another 5,000 during the current year.
- (ii) Over 300 Service Co-operatives were set up during the 3rd plan. In the current year additional societies are proposed to be set up.
- (iii) About 52 rural godowns are proposed to be constructed. The target for the current year is five godowns.
- (iv) An amount of Rs. 1.25 crore and Rs. 16 lakh was advanced as short, medium and long term credit respectively in the last year of the 3rd plan. The corresponding figures of credit for the current year are Rs. 1.75 crore and Rs. 20 lakh respectively.

IV. Forests

- (i) Plantation of fast growing species was extended to 680 acres. During year 1965-66 the target for the current year is 1,600 acres.
- (ii) An area of 1,200 acres will be covered under economic plantation. For the current year the programme will cover 800 acres.
- (iii) Fuel wood plantation was extended to 3,840 acres during the 3rd plan. For the current year 600 acres will be covered under this programme.
- (iv) 4,400 acres under degraded forests were improved. For current year this programme will cover another 5,000 acres.

(v) In the matter of communications in the forest area 99 miles were newly constructed and 416 miles improved. For the current year the programme is to undertake new construction of 25 miles and 350 miles of extract paths. Besides this 100 miles of old roads will be improved.

V. C.D. & N.E.S

- (i) The whole State is covered by the programme of community development.
- (ii) In order to augment the works programme in the C.D. Blocks, grants have been provided. The works grant was 13 per cent of the total outlay on C.D. & N.E.S. in 1963 and is expected to have gone up to 55 per cent in 1965-66. For the current year the percentage will be nearly 60 per cent.

VI. Power

- (i) The supply of power by the end of the 3rd plan reached 36,520 kws. 643 villages now receive electricity. Another 100 villages are proposed to be provided with electricity during the current year.
- (ii) Leh town received electricity for the first time during the 3rd plan. Extensive survey for generation of a 3,200 kws. of hydel power have been conducted.
- (iii) To augment the supply of electricity in Srinagar diesel sets are proposed to be installed.
- (iv) The other projects which are in hand are Tawi Hydro-electric Project and Jhelum Hydro-electric Project besides Sindh Hydro-electric Project which is also proposed to be taken up. Installation capacity of the Tawi Hydro-electric Project is 25,000 kws. and for the Jhelum the installed capacity will be 98,000 kws. in the final stage.

Installed capacity during the 3rd Plan was expected to have gone up even higher but the programme on Kalakote Thermal Station which was to be commissioned during the 3rd Plan, was upset due to the presence of armed infiltrators in the Kalakore area and also due to some essential machinery on its way to India having been impounded by Pakistan during the recent conflict.

VII. Roads, Road Transport and Tourism

- (i) A length of 1,220 miles of roads was surfaced and 2,074 miles of unsurfaced road length constructed. The total road mileage at the end of 1964-65 was 4,513 of surfaced and unsurfaced roads. A comparison of the road mileage with the area indicates that on 31st March, 1962 we had eight miles of surfaced and unsurfaced road per 100 sq miles of area as compared to 37 for the country.
- (ii) During 1963-64 we had 4,809 vehicles of all types in the State. A comparison of the number of persons per vehicle shows that we had one vehicle for 741 persons in 1961-62 as compared to 594 for the country as a whole.
- (iii) There has been an increase in the the number of tourists. There has, however, been some decline in the number of tourists visiting the valley during 1964 and 1965 as compared to earlier years. This may be attributed to extraordinary incidents that have been happening in quick succession—Chinese aggression, cloud burst in Pahalgam, Holy Relic incident and finally the recent massive Pakistani infiltration followed by an armed attack.

VIII. Education

- (i) The following institutions were added :

- (a) 2,420 Primary Schools including Junior Basic Schools.
 - (b) 447 Middle Schools including Senior Basic Schools.
 - (c) 103 High and Higher Secondary Schools.
 - (d) four Degree Colleges.
- (ii) 10 colleges were converted to the 3-Year Degree Pattern.
- (iii) An Institute of Education for Primary Education was set up.
- (iv) To meet the needs of people, the University was bifurcated into two divisions, one each at Jammu and Srinagar.
- (v) For the training of teachers 270 seats were added to the existing schools.
- (vi) The programme for the current year consists of opening of 175 Activity Basic Schools, addition of 6th, 7th, and 8th classes to 245 schools, establishment of six Training Schools (three each for boys and girls) with a seating capacity of 270 and addition 15 seats in Teachers (Girls) Training Schools at Jammu and Srinagar, at the Primary level and 75 at the Secondary level. Besides this four High Schools will be converted into Higher Secondary schools and 20 Lower High Schools will be upgraded as high schools.

IX. Health

- (i) The following medical institutions were added :
- (a) One Mental Hospital.
 - (b) One Ayurvedic and one Unani Hospital.
 - (c) Primary Health Centres

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| (d) Sub-Centres | 65 |
| (e) Primary Health Units | 2 |
| (f) Allopathic Dispensaries | 59 |
| (g) Ayurvedic & Unani
Dispensaries | 127 |
| (h) V.D. Clinics | 7 |
| (i) T.B. Clinics | 5 |
| (j) Family Planning Centres | 6 |
- (ii) We have now 19 Hospitals, one Nursing Home, 53 Primary Health Centres, 66 Sub-Centres, 16 Primary Health Units, 498 Allopathic, Ayurvedic and Unani Dispensaries and 64 Family Planning Centres and Sub-Centres.
- (iii) There has been an addition of 985 beds in various institutions raising the total strength to 3814 by the end of the 3rd Plan, We have now one bed for one thousand persons. In 1961-62 the position was one bed for 1,155 persons—the corresponding figure for the country for this year was 1,950 persons.
- (iv) For the current year the programme is to open two Allopathic Dispensaries, four Ayurvedic and Unani Dispensaries, establishment of one Mobile Surgical Family Planning Unit, establishment of four Family Planning Centres. Besides this the bed strength of S.M.G.S. Hospital, Jammu will be raised from 500 to 550.

X. Water Supply

- (i) The supply to protected water was increased by 7.20 million gallons in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu. Besides this the distribution system has considerably been improved.

- (ii) A number of schemes were implemented for supply of water to rural areas. The total rural population covered is seven lakh.

XI. Housing

- (i) An amount of about Rs. 67 lakh was given as loan under Low Income Group Housing Scheme.
- (ii) Over 1,000 tenements were constructed under the Low Income Group Housing Scheme. The Scheme which was in the initial stages restricted to Government servants is now to benefit other people also.
- (iii) An area of over 240 acres was acquired.
- (iv) An amount of Rs. 32 lakhs is anticipated to have been spent on slum clearance.

XII. Technical Trainings

- (i) Five additional Industrial Training Institutes were set up with a seating capacity of 580 besides raising the seating capacity of existing institutions from 328 to 558.
- (ii) Out of 1,800 students admitted to the training institutes, over 1,200 appeared and 982 passed out as trained craftsmen.
- (iii) We have now an Engineering College, two Polytechnics and seven Industrial Training Institutes.
- (iv) Over seven thousand youngmen have received professional training in and outside the country at a cost of over three crore of ruppes.

XIII. Industries and Mining

LARGE AND MEDIUM SCALE INDUSTRIES

- (i) *J & K Industries.*

- (a) The J&K Industries was set up in October, 1963. The company has launched a programme of modernization of units which were set up about three decades back with second hand and old machinery which during the course of years had not only become wornout but also outdated. Mention among these units may be made of Woollen Mills, Rosin and Turpentine Factory and Silk Weaving Factory. The entire modernisation of the Woollen Mills is estimated to involve an outlay of about Rs. 65 lakh and is expected to be completed during the 4th Plan. For the first phase of its modernisation orders have already been placed with a supplier in U.K. for machinery valuing about Rs. 9 lakh. Another order is being placed with a firm in Belgium for machinery costing about Rs.18 lakhs. The modernization of Rosin and Turpentine Factory is expected to involve an outlay of Rs. 10.00 lakh.
- (b) Processed hides amounting to Rs.21 lakhs were exported to Russia.
- (c) The company has also undertaken to expand the existing capacity of Government Spinning Mill—an undertaking set up to produce yarn to sustain the traditional and famous shawl industry by increasing the spindlage from 1,200 to 2,400 in the first phase. Order for import of machines costing about Rs. 10 lakh has been placed with two Japanese firms.
- (d) An attempt is being made to make the State self-sufficient in respect of its requirements of improved variety of silk worm seeds by the end of the 4th Plan which are at present imported.

(ii) J&K Minerals

- (a) Besides the completion of Cement Factory at Wuyan which went into commercial production in July, 1963, the prestressed concrete factory and spun pipe factory at Wuyan were also set up by the mining corporation.
- (b) A briquetting plant for lignite briquettes was set up.
- (c) A chain of new cement factories is under contemplation in Jammu province. It is also proposed to expand the existing capacity of the Cement Factory at Wuyan.

(iii) Directorate of Geology and Mining.

- (a) Investigations were conducted in respect of minerals namely coal, lignite, lime-stone, bauxite, gypsum, copper-lead, iron ore and precious and semi-precious stone. The fields of investigation were spread throughout the state including Ladakh. Coal and gypsum are considered important for the setting up of cement factories.
- (b) Engineering Geology investigations were undertaken.

(iv) Small Scale Industries.

In the sphere of small scale industries sector the Government has taken up promotional activities by which the private entrepreneur is helped to overcome some of the disabilities.

The government have done the following:-

- (1) Construction of Industrial Estates.
- (2) Setting up of Small Scale Industries Corporation which is to help the private entrepreneur for the

procurement of raw materials. This Corporation is all the more essential now because of very tight foreign exchange position.

(v) *Loans.*

An amount of about Rs. 29 lakhs is expected to have been distributed to various entrepreneurs.

(vi) For exploring the possibility of setting up a fertilizer factory based on the available raw material in the State, it is proposed to take in hand a detailed survey and projecting.

XIV. Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes

- (i) Pre-matric scholarships were given to 17,227 scheduled caste students, 13,004 other backward class students, 2,027 Hanji and Mochi students.
- (ii) Post-matric scholarships were given to 795 scheduled caste students and 987 other economically backward students.
- (iii) The total number of boarding houses for scheduled caste students in the State would be five by the end of 3rd Plan period.
- (iv) About 1,319 scheduled caste agricultural families were given seeds, fertilizers and bullocks.
- (v) 400 scheduled caste persons and 20 other backward class persons were granted subsidy for purchasing tools and other implements for settling in the trade.
- (vi) Two training-cum-production centres were set up to train Mochi and Watal children in leather technology.
- (vii) For the construction of new houses and improvements to existing ones subsidy was granted to 25 sweeper families, 304 nomadic Gujar, Bakarwal and Bajigar families, 518 Hanji families, 432 cobbler

families. For improvement of working conditions, 836 sweepers and scavengers were supplied wheel barrows, gum boots and 1,025 scheduled caste landless labourers were granted house sites by the end of the 3rd Plan.

- (viii) In addition to the above, the strength of existing two beggar homes was increased by 25 inmates, one additional home for destitutes and deserted women was established bringing the total to three.
- (ix) An assistance of Rs. 1.34 lakh was provided for building of houses for schedule castes.

XV. Labour and Labour Welfare

- (i) District Employment Exchanges were set up. Except in Ladakh we have now an Employment Exchange in all the districts.
- (ii) With the addition of one more Sarai for migratory labour at Jammu, accommodation will now be available for 1,000 labourers.

XVI. Local Bodies

A loan of about Rs. 63 lakhs was granted to various Town Areas and Municipalities for development purposes.

XVII. Ladakh

- (i) We have now a whole time development Commissioner for Ladakh District. A Ladakh Development Committee has also set up under the Chairmanship of Minister for Ladakh Affairs.
- (ii) The tempo of development has increased in Ladakh. The outlay expected to have been utilized in 1965-66 in Rs. 53 lakh as against Rs. 9.82 lakh in 1961-62.
- (iii) The district is now linked up with the rest of the State with a fair-weather road.

XVIII. Measures Taken to Strengthen the Machinery for Plan Implementation

- (i) The post of a Planning Commissioner was created.
- (ii) In view of the importance of agricultural production a whole time Agricultural Production Commissioner was appointed.
- (iii) At the District level the District Planning Officers were appointed.
- (iv) A number of improvements were affected in the purchase of stores and equipment for Engineering works. A separate Department of Mechanical and Stores was created for the purpose.
- (v) A Construction Corporation was also set up.
- (vi) A separate Department of Designs and Planning is now functioning.
- (vii) For the effective implementation of the water supply scheme a separate Department of Public Health under a whole-time Chief Engineer was set up.
- (viii) For the efficient functioning of the Government Transport, the Commercial Wing of the Transport Department was separated and placed under a whole-time Head of the Department.
- (ix) There has been improvement in the delegation of powers at various levels. The secretaries to Government are now Class I Officers instead of Class II a few years ago. Similarly the Divisional Commissioners are now Major Heads of Departments.

XIX. Construction Corporation

To provide a suitable construction industry in the State possessing necessary technical know-how and appropriate machinery and equipment for the execution of works, the

Government have formed a Jammu Kashmir Construction Corporation under the Jammu and Kashmir Companies Act for construction of projects. The management of the Corporation vests in a Board of Directors. One of whom is appointed by the Governor as the chairman and the other as the Managing Director.

The Corporation has undertaken various construction works both in the Jammu province and the Kashmir Valley to the tune of Rs. 50 lakh. In the Kashmir province the construction works handled by the Corporation included: construction of a 460 ft. span pre-stressed concrete bridge at Narbal costing Rs. 14.00 lakh. University works—(i) Chemistry Block costing Rs. 10.00 lakh. (ii) Staff Quarters, works at Mirgund costing Rs. 5.00 lakh and construction of pre-stressed bridge at Sumbal at a cost of Rs. 18.00 lakh. In the Jammu province the Corporation undertook construction of Serai Building at a cost of Rs. 1.00 lakh. Nurses' Hostel, Physics Block, Administration Block, Dental Block, Radiological Block and Chenani works at a cost of Rs. 8.00 lakh.

Flood Control

The flood problem assumed great importance and urgency after the floods of 1959 which were the highest ever recorded. The floods of 1950, 1951, 1957, 1959 and 1965 caused wide-spread damage to life, crops and property and seriously affected the economy of the State.

A Master Plan for flood protection of Kashmir Valley was formulated in consultation with experts at the Centre. Accordingly various measures were taken to protect the Valley from the devastating floods. Protection bunds along the river Jhelum were constructed. These bunds have been strengthened and protected against erosion by executing local works at many places all along the course of the river Jhelum up to the Wular. Some of these works were taken in hand during 1965-66 and are in progress. Protection of embankments have been taken up at Batengu, Naina, Babapora, Dogripura,

Marwal, Padgampora and Shivpora (Batwara). About 500 labourers are engaged on the project.

The low-lying areas adjacent to the river Jhelum have been protected against floods by providing appropriate drainage of the flood waters. Raising and strengthening of the Watlab Adipora bund on Wular Lake and Haigam bund has been undertaken. These works are in progress providing employment to about 2,000 labourers.

(Directorate of Information, Jammu and Kashmir Government)

33

Economic Freedom First— Agrarian Revolution and Industrialisation

By
J.K. Banerji

There is a controversy about the proper relationship between political and economic freedoms. It is not that anybody contests the need for both! The trouble arises when one comes to questions like: What comes first? Or, is one freedom independent of the other?

There are some who say political freedom must come first. But it has been seen in the past that, after achieving political freedom, the party in power lost interest in getting to the next stage. Then again it is not difficult to cite examples where, inspite of constitutional political rights, people are economically very far from free. The point is: Is your freedom to vote for somebody worth the candle if you are also free to starve, go about unemployed or compelled to work at very low wages?

As against this political-freedom first school there are those who say that political freedom without economic one is meaningless. In fact, in the whole gamut of freedoms economic freedom, they say, is the decisive one. You can have political freedom without the economic one, but never economic freedom without the political one. Leaders of present day

Kashmir seem to have accepted the latter interpretation of real freedom.

In his introduction to the draft constitution of and programme for New Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah expresses his conviction "that real freedom takes birth only from economic emancipation." But how to achieve this economic freedom? The premier declares: "In the economic sphere we have gone on the principle that planned economy is of the essence of progress, and that without it there can be no raising of the standard of living of the masses of these state." Now, if economic freedom is real freedom, and if this real freedom be realisable only through planned economy, it follows that the state must take over complete control of the productive machinery, that is to say, establish a socialist state. The economic orientation of New Kashmir is socialistic.

Socialist Economy

In the draft programme the socialist approach to economics is concretised. Production is to be organised "for use and not for exchange;" "co-operative enterprise is to be stressed as opposed to destructive competition." And then, coming to specific sectors of economy, it enjoins as the basis of agricultural plan, "abolition of landlordism;" "land to the tiller;" and a sharply progressive system of taxation on all unearned land incomes till planned economy can come into full swing.

In the industrial sector the basic principles laid down are: "abolition of the big private capitalist;" state ownership and management of "all key industries;" and during the period of transition before planned economy is fully operative the functioning of private small-scale industrial enterprises.

On the strength of the programme nobody need run away the idea that Kashmir is well on the way to achieve economic freedom. Not only is it too early for that, but then, after all what is in a plan so long it is not or cannot be executed? It is all very well to draw up programmes which

transform on paper backward agriculture into large-scale mechanised one, develop metallurgy, machine industries and so forth when, finally, nothing comes out of the plan, or when all that happens, as a result of increased economic activity, is that certain individuals get richer, land becomes object of speculation, industrial strife grows more frequent and masses stay where they were.

In India too, we have heard of many plans. Yet, whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that we have not yet come within even reasonable distance of the time when a beginning could be made of industrial planning.

Pre-Requisite of Planning

The essence of successful planning is the rearrangement of social forces in such a way that the productive forces are released from all obstacles for giving the maximum result. In other words, all the important means of production must first be detached from the whims, rights and fancies of their proprietors and brought into a fluid state, as it were, so that they can be moulded into any form that is best calculated to increase the productive capacity of the people most economically and in the quickest possible time.

To judge a plan, therefore, one must first see whether along with blue-prints there is an effort to change in the required degree the social basis of the productive system. It is unthinkable that any plan can be successful when individuals or classes still retain their right over means of production and be in a position to thwart their rational use.

What about Kashmir Plan?

The leaders of Kashmir give the impression of being aware of these pre-requisites of planning although this awareness in itself is no guarantee of success. Because Kashmir is a wholly agricultural country they rightly make land the basis of every development. From land must come more

food to feed the people as well as the goods by the exchange of which machines could be bought to industrialise the country and mechanise agriculture itself.

To bring more crops out of the land even before any money can be invested in and new machineries applied to agriculture is the immediate problem in a poor agrarian country like Kashmir, or India for that matter. In other words, increase of productivity without any new additional help in money and machineries is the first step in planning. The nature of the measures required to give this result can only be political, social and psychological.

Agrarian Front

The man entrusted with this job is the Minister of Revenue and Rehabilitation—Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg. Enthusiastic, hard working and full of common sense, Mr. Beg has the great quality of having a clear idea of what is needed and convey this idea *viva voce* to the masses. The greatest of all Mr. Beg's qualities is, perhaps, his sound practical sense. He knows how far one can go under given circumstances and the best way of getting it done.

The government had abolished jagirdari, given moratorium on debts distributed some land to landless peasants. The abolition of jagirdari enables the state to recover the revenue formerly taken by the Jagirdars. Sparing the peasant from many petty inconveniences and in few cases bringing him pecuniary advantage, this measure does not lighten the burden on the peasant. Moratorium, etc., bring immediate relief to some hard pressed categories of peasants without permanently improving their economic status.

Abolition of Landlordism

The decisive measure introduced so far to affect the existing situation in land is the Amendment to the Tenancy Act. The great merit of this measure, I was told, is that it does

not attempt to abolish landlordism by legislative measure and then get logged down, as in India, in interminable enquiries by innumerable committees. What is more, it purports to get rid of landlordism without compensation; and by avoiding there transfer of the debt burden on the back of the people via the state it, thereby, saves the object of the measure from being defeated.

This is what is proposed to be done: Landlordism is not abolished; the landlord is made to give greater share of the produce of the land to the tenant. Briefly, the measure provides that no land holder holding above 12½ acres of land can receive one-fourth of produce of the tenant in the case of the more important abi crops, such as rice, wheat, maize, etc., and one-third in case of khushki crops, like cotton, pulses, etc. The landlord who was formerly taking 50 per cent and sometimes even more of the produce and now will be mostly getting 25 per cent, is further obliged to give over the fodder crop to the tenant in certain cases, which naturally means taking away his ability to maintain cattle. Furthermore, the dues to be paid to the State have to be met by the landlord from his one-forth share.

Revolutionary Technique

It is true that the landlordism will not be dead and that small farms under 12½ acres comprising 66 per cent of the land are left outside the scope of the new Bill. But its scope can be extended by bringing in smaller farms under its purview and also by decreasing the share of the landlord and by increasing the dues of the State. It is hoped that by the latter method landlordism can be really rendered uneconomic and made to disappear without leaving behind any burden on the State. Optimists think that in two year's time the problem of landlordism will have been solved.

The revolutionary import of the measure I could see with my own eyes as I travelled with the Minister from village to village. Contrary to the pessimism expressed to me

by some sceptics who feared that the peasants would not know about the law or would be prevented from benefiting through it by the landlord, I found the peasants fully conversant with the essential details of the law. And although the Bill has not become law through the refusal of the Maharaja to sign it, I found them eagerly preparing to take their three-fourth share with the full agreement of the government. In my presence landlords brought complaints to the Minister about peasants threatening to take more than three-fourth share, in some cases all.

Same New Approach

Another measure for solving the problem of indebtedness is under preparation. The guiding principles of this new measure will not be the legal unholding of the sanctity of contracts, and so on. The government just intends to write off the debts, but not to the degree as to cause too much shrinkage of credit. In Kashmir as in India the business of agriculture cannot go on without borrowing; and there is no possibility of replacing wholly and immediately the sources of local credit by public funds giving out loans to the peasant. But what is new in Kashmir is that the government has already accepted public welfare and not a social contracts held by usurers or money-lenders as the greater good.

The Kashmir Government is still very far from its agrarian goal. The measures they have introduced or about to introduce can achieve nothing more than create a new atmosphere in the village and provide that new incentive which alone can increase production with the present available means and thus enable the State to make a move towards building up a new and better economy.

Industrial Front

The industrial plan is in the hands of Development Minister, Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, considered to be the most left element in the cabinet. Mr. Sadiq is or was a member

of the Communist Party of Kashmir. Whatever the case may be, unlike the local communists, the Development Minister is in full agreement with not only what the government intends doing, but also how, and this is more important, the government is trying now to implement its programme.

The local communists—a tiny group—in line with their all India policy belittle the government, although the local reasons such as limited progressive potentiality which they concede to the Sheikh team they, unlike their comrades in India, do not go so far as to condemn the government roundly. In fact, most of them still work with the National Conference.

Communism or Realism

Kashmir is not going red. As in the agrarian field, there is nothing ultra, or specially communistic, about the lines on which Mr. Sadiq thinks of Kashmir's industrial development. What is new about them is that they are based on social realism and not on bombastic but futile paper plans in vogue in India.

In fact, Mr. Sadiq's ideas are modest and conform to the general approach of the government to the problem of planned reconstruction as a whole. Although there are provisions in the economic programme for the establishment of industries such as metallurgy or machine-tools, what interests most the development Minister is the successful solution of the agrarian problem.

Not that there is no thought of doing anything immediately on the industrial front. The government is thinking of immediately rehabilitating and developing with state initiative the existing industries, some of them cottage industries, like silk and wool, of expanding the raisin and turpentine, drugs, sporting accessories industries, of developing modest hydro-electric schemes by means of the exportable goods such as silk, skins and hides which Czechoslovakia, for instance, is willing to take in exchange for suitable small machines.

Although there is provision in the economic programme of the 'National Conference for the small-scale private enterprise it looks as if the state is going, if it had its way, to monopolise the entire economic life of Kashmir.

Kashmir has not yet realised even a small part of its economic programme. This is, of course, understandable with war and all that. But what is of interest specially to us in India where problems are similar is the way in which Kashmir Government have begun the work of giving the people economic freedom.

Role of India

What will happen when Kashmir joins India? One of the specific aims of its planned economy is national self-sufficiency. Can this aim be achieved as part of India? Will it be possible to join India with foreign affairs and foreign trade going into the hands of he Central Government at Delhi and yet have planned economy on the basis of national self-sufficiency only for Kashmir?

The question of a clash of interest will not arise if India also had a socialist planned economy. For in that case both could be integrated with mutual benefit on the basis of division of labour. But what if India continued to remain capitalistic?

It will be a tragedy, I was told, for those who want to join India should ideological bias prompt Delhi, in that case, to become indifferent to the success of Kashmir's economic programme. Kashmiris ardently hope that generosity and broadmindedness that characterised Indian Government's decision militarily to come to Kashmir's aid will continue to make themselves felt when the war is over.

(1948)

34

Ladakh must have Drastic Remedies for her many Ills

Revolutionary political changes have occurred recently across Ladakh's 800-mile-long border with the Chinese province of Sinkiang and Tibet. Economic life in these two neighbouring Communist regions is undergoing transformation of a basic and far-reaching character. How far the events in Central Asia and the neighbouring countries will ultimately influence the future shape of things in Ladakh, is rather difficult to say at present. But credit must be given to Sheikh Abdullah and his government for taking time by the forelock. For, by the abolition of big landed estates and the implementation of land-to-tiller programme in the State, Ladakh—and for the matter of that, the whole of Jammu and Kashmir—is ahead of Sinkiang and Tibet in the matter of agrarian reforms. Facts are facts and any attempt to under-estimate their value and importance, is simply uncharitable.

But when everything is said and done, the fact remains that Ladakh's problem is mainly a question of the production of more wealth rather than of distribution. Accordingly, just as one swallow does not make a summer, so one land reform, howsoever important, cannot be expected to bring about the much-needed general improvement in the economic life of Ladakh. In the final analysis, the land-to-tiller programme is a question of the distribution of wealth. In this connection it is necessary to remember that the soil of Ladakh is already of a very poor quality and unless steps are taken to enrich it

through scientific means and organize cooperative or collective farming, the land reforms can do very little to improve the lot of Kisans for whose benefit they were introduced.

Drastic Remedy

During their discussions with me, the Ladakhi leaders, especially Kushok Bakula, the Head Lama of Leh, told me that the economic ailment of Ladakh required a drastic remedy. They would not like to see any further delay in the preparation and implementation of plans for the frontier district's material progress. They are distressed at the poverty of their homeland and are anxious to see an end to the "mute pain" of their brethren in Ladakh.

From the nature of the problems confronting Ladakh, a comprehensive economic survey of the district appears to be a pre-requisite to the formulation of any plans for its economic development. Haphazard attempts to improve matters in the district are not likely to produce the desired results.

One of Ladakh's most serious problems is that of the acute shortage of food. Accordingly, the possibilities of intensive and extensive cultivation of land are to be explored. Construction of irrigational canals, wherever profitable and possible, must be undertaken. Exploration of the horticultural and agricultural possibilities of the district appears to be desirable. At present, the Agriculture department is practically unrepresented in the area.

There are sulphur and borax deposits in the Rupshu locality and asbestos in Suru in Kargil. "There are probably many other mineral deposits too, but none are worked" Recently, the Government of India sent a mining expert to Ladakh to examine the possibilities of working sulphur in the area. But nothing is known about the result of his mission to Rupshu and other areas in the district.

There are some salt lakes also in the region. Full utilisation of the salt-water lake in Changthang for the manufacturer of salt, may become a paying proposition. The present output hardly suffices to meet the requirements of the district. In view of the geological formation of the district, rock salt may also be found in the area if a proper survey is made.

Ladakhis welcome the idea of establishment by the Government of an industrial concern at Leh for the manufacture of shawls and other woollens, e.g. Pattoos, Namdas, carpets and blankets. There is sufficient raw material available in the district. Side by side, the introduction of the spinning wheel and standard looms for the cottage industries appears to be necessary.

For the people for the district, the proudest day would be when Leh and Kargil are electrified. A survey need to be conducted for harnessing the waters of the Indus or its branches to produce electricity. This would be a real boon to the people of Ladakh.

The district's fuel problem can be solved by the plantation of willows, poplars and such other trees on a planned basis. Incidentally, this would save animal droppings, now used as fuel, for manure for the farms and help to extend the area under cultivation. No doubt, the government took some steps in this connection during the last four years, but a more serious effort is called for in this behalf.

Communications

Remembering the words of the well known American thinker, Horace Bushnell, that "all creative action, whether in government, industry, thought or religion creates roads" it would appear that no progress in Ladakh is possible without the improvement of communications between the various parts of the district and between it and India (including Kashmir). And Ladakh is a strategic area whose roads and air

strips as also telegraph and telephone lines, are vital for the defence of India and Kashmir.

At present, Ladakh remains cut off from India and Kashmir for six months in a year as the Zoji La and Leh-Kulu routes remain blocked due to snow during winter months. It appears desirable to conduct a survey to discover an alternative to the existing road link between the district and the Punjab (I) The possibilities of keeping the Zoji La route open for more than six months in a year need also be examined. The jeep road connecting Srinagar with Kargil should be extended to Leh. Zanskar should be connected with Leh by a road dependable throughout the year. This can probably be done by the construction of a few bridges over the streams in the Junglam route. The road connecting Kargil with Zanskar should be improved. Telegraph offices should be opened in Zanskar and Nubra. Telephone connections should also be established between these places and Leh and Kargil. The situation in the district demands that airfields should be built in Zanskar and Nubra.

Administration

Ladakh is a distinct geographical unit and Ladakhis a distinct nationality in Jammu and Kashmir State. The district has its own history, customs, manners and traditions. Small wonder, therefore, if the people of the area possess some vague and undefined sort of amour-propre which if touched, may produce undesirable results. Circumstances consequently demand a gentle but careful handling of the situation.

The Ladakhis generally complain that, more often than not, during the 113 years of Dogra Rule in the State, efficient, honest and sympathetic officers were not deputed to run the administration in the district. Of course there have been some noble exceptions like Sri Shridar Koul of the State Educational Service, popularly known as "Masterji", and Pandit Nila Kanth of the State Customs and Excise Service. The Ladakhis remember the services of these two Kashmiri officers with a

deep sense of gratitude. The former who was working in Ladakh till 1948, is supposed to have been the brain behind the organization known as Ladakh Militia which successfully resisted the Pakistani raiders till the Indian Army finally liquidated the enemy. Some prominent Ladakhis went so far as to tell me: "What Masterji does not know about Ladakh and its problems, is not worth knowing".

Be that as it may, what the Ladakhis are anxious to see is that the top ranks in the district administration should be manned by the cream of civil service in the State. The most beneficent laws, they ever, can be turned into instruments of oppression by unscrupulous and corrupt officers in this isolated region. The social and other institutions of the Buddhists and non-Buddhists in the area being unique, it is difficult for the people to understand them. According to Ladakhis, this is one great reason, among other things, why they should be effectively associated with the administration and why no laws, affecting their social or other institutions, should be enforced except in consultation with their representatives.

Vocal elements in Ladakh's political and social life are persistent in their demand that services for which local talent is available, should not be manned by "outsiders". I had not the time nor the proper means to assess the actual position regarding the representation of Ladakhis, especially Buddhists, in services. But from the rough Idea I could form in this behalf, it appears to be very necessary that steps should be taken to make up the representation of the people of the district, particularly of Buddhists, in all the ranks of different services. This is bound to have a healthy influence on the politics of Ladakh. (The selection of Mr. Kashi Nath Koul as Deputy Commissioner of the district has, however, caused general satisfaction in Leh. Belonging to the "cream" of the State Civil Service, the young, energetic and zealous Deputy Commissioner has already won considerable popularity among the local population. And though a Kashmiri, he does

not find himself to be a stranger in the surroundings in which he is called upon to work).

Extension of Panchayat System

The organization of a net-work of local Panchayats appears to be a crying need in Ladakh. At present, the Rural Development Department is more or less unrepresented in the area. Special efforts are needed to be made to extend the beneficent activities of this department in this part of the State. Ordinary civil and criminal cases should be submitted to the judgment of the Panchayats. This will, among other things, save many people from travelling very long distances to reach tehsil headquarters in connection with their cases And, above all, the poor Ladakhi would be saved of being intimidated unnecessarily by any corrupts officials.

Spread of Modern Education

The very fact that after 118 years of its close association with Kashmir in the present context, Buddhist Ladakh can "boast" of having so far produced "only one graduate and a dozen Matriculates", calls for the institution of a special inquiry and acceleration of the pace of modern education in the area. Of course, during the last four years, the Kashmir Government took some steps in this direction and opened two high schools, one in Leh and the other in Kargil. But the Ladakhi leaders asserted that more was needed to be done and done in the quickest possible time. Special scholarships for encouraging boys and girls in this frontier district, if paid, are expected to yield rich "political dividends" ultimately. A centre for the Matriculation Examination in Leh is a great necessity and it would be helpful for the spread of higher education in Ladakh if steps are taken to open it without any further loss of time. As the Zoji La remains blocked till June every year, students from Leh and Kargil who have to appear in the examination at Srinagar, cannot travel by road to Sringar in the month of March or April. And hardly any student can afford to travel by air from Leh or Kargil to Srinagar even if

the air service is open in that part of the year. The result is that many students even after studying for ten long years, are precluded from appearing in the Marticulation Examination ultimately.

The opening of two high schools in the district is being widely appreciated and hope is expressed that the institutions would be adequately staffed and equipped.

As regards Primary Education, its success is still considered to be the problem of supervision and unless the inspecting agency is highly efficient and inspired by missionary zeal and ardour and unless it exercises effective and positive control over the schools, the money spent on Primary Education is not expected to yield the desired results.

(*Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 1952*)

35

In Ninety Days—A Brief Account of Agrarian Reforms Launched by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Government in Kashmir

I

We have achieved our political goal of full responsible government but will realize the political freedom is not enough: that to make it durable and an effective means of peace and progress in a country, it must be founded on socio-economic freedom. We are determined to make it worth-while for the humblest and the poorest of our countrymen to love his country. By concrete acts of the Government for his well-being, we will help him to realize that his country loves him too, that it offers him opportunities to discover the best in him. Inevitably, the government will, as conditions permit, implement the economic programme of "New Kashmir" which has inspired hope into the hearts of the millions of our countrymen. The tiller of the soil and the labourer, the Kisan and the Mazdoor, the skilled and the unskilled worker, in the factory as well as in the small cottage industry, the landless agriculturist, the petty shopkeeper, the petty farmer, and other neglected sections of our people will be given a fair deal. All this will be done with a view to the prosperity of the people and the country as a whole and, indeed as the only effective means to it. It will be our earnest effort to instil

a new hope and a new sense of dignity among our countrymen so that ignorance and poverty are removed and all exploitation of man by man comes to an end. We shall trust the common man and build a Panchayat Raj all the way up from the rural or small down unit to the top. And, while this will demand sacrifices and new adjustments from all of us particularly from those of us who have ridden the back of the poorest people so long and fed and fattened on him, it need not fill any of us with fear, for we shall see that the change is peaceful and that there is no avoidable hardship anywhere.

"This is our programme and our policy, but while we shall not procrastinate our constructive planning and nation-building, we shall be hampered by the war we are fighting against a ruthless and an unscrupulous invader."

(From the Hon'ble Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's broadcast—Jammu Radio, March 21, 1948).

II

Were it not for the earnestness with which a beginning has already been made to bring relief to the poorer sections of this country, it would be too early to expect the Government, while the war we are fighting is still on, to launch its economic programme and its ameliorative measures, eloquently put in the words of the Prime Minister in his broadcast speech. It has been realized that these measures were called for not only by a consideration of the intrinsic merit of the measures themselves, but also by the compelling circumstances and conditions obtaining at present in which these measures are in themselves a part of our war effort.

"New Kashmir" envisages that in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as in the rest of India, one of the major tasks of any national government should be the organization of agriculture on a modern and rational basis and the provision for the peasant of a higher standard of living. It, therefore,

enunciates the basic principles of its Agricultural Plan as:-

1. Abolition of landlordism—"A privileged class, itself doing nothing, but living on the labours of other";
2. Land to the tiller—"to satisfy the land hunger of the landless peasant, and ensure the efficient working of the land";
3. Co-operative association—"to eliminate waste, increase production, economize labour, root out destructive competition, and pool local resources"

These are the aims of the plan; and it is a sure sign of the strength of the people's movement that their first representative popular government has lost no time in implementing them. There can, indeed, be no stronger proof of the fact that it is people's own government, exercising complete power, than the inauguration of these reforms, which have removed age-old land relationships and other disabilities and have unmistakably shown the way to a new, and a juster rural economy.

III

TOWARDS ABOLITION OF LANDLORDISM

1. Abolition of Jagirdari

As the first step towards the abolition of landlordism, all Jagirs have been resumed. By a council resolution, it has been ordered; "that all Jagir grants tenable during the pleasure of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur or held in perpetuity subject to the general condition of loyalty or other expressed condition be resumed with effect from 1st Baisakh 2005 provided that the applications of such grantees as may deserve maintenance allowance for want of adequate source of income or for other reasons be entertained if submitted within a period of three months from the date of resumption order and that each such case be investigated and decided on merits."

At a time, such as this, of acute general financial stringency, the total amount of Jagirs resumed, Rs. 6,24,915 is a welcome addition to the Public Treasury and, what is more, the abolition of Jagirs removes a vicious anachronism of land relationship with all its concomitant socio-economic evils. The system of Jagirdari, as indeed all land tenure, establishes certain relationships on land which form the frame-work within which agricultural production is carried on. The different systems of land tenures the manner in which the land is held, not only determine the distribution of the total product, the method and technique of production, but also create relationships that have political and social significance. This measure, therefore, removes the burden of parasitic hierarchy of Jagirdars and Jagirdars' Kardars from the back of peasantry, especially so in the case of the Jurisdictional jagir of Chenani.

The administration of Chenani was taken over on April 5, 1948, in only 30 days of the assumption of office by the Ministry; and it was ordered that

1. the administration of the Jagir of Chenani be completely taken over by the State with effect from the 1st of Baisakh 2005;
2. the jurisdiction of the Wazir, the sub-Judge, the Tehsildar and other District officers of the Udhampur district be extended to the area of Chenani Jagir;
3. the powers exercised by the Wazir and Tehsildar Chenani be exercised by the Wazir, sub-judge and the Tehsildar of Udhampur according to the jurisdiction exercised by them in Udhampur Teshil;
4. all cases and other matters pending in the courts or offices of Wazir and the Tehsildar of Chenani be transferred to the Wazir, the sub-Judge and the

Tehsildar of Udhampur, according to the nature of the matter and the jurisdiction exercised by the latter;

5. all other departments such as Police, Forest, etc., be also taken over by the respective District Officers of Udhampur District, who shall submit proposals for the retention or disposal of the present establishment of Chenani Jagir; and
6. the question of fixation of allowance for the Raja Saheb and his family be taken up separately and proposals submitted in due course.

Chenani was a jurisdictional Jagir in the province of Jammu with an area of 95 square miles and a population of 12,000. In recent years it had become a cesspool of authoritarian and autocratic rule, and it was described as "a typical illustration of mal-administration" by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla in the memorandum which he presented to the British Cabinet Mission in April 1945. The Jagirdar had unlimited power over his subjects; he monopolized trade, illegally ejected tenant farmers, sold land on flimsy pretexts; and he was in his own person the collector of taxes, controller of food, civil and criminal judge, as also the biggest trader and money-lender. Though some improvement was intended to be made under commands of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, dated the 8th March 1947, by which the Raja of Chenani was divested of the Revenue Judicial and Magisterial powers exercised by him, yet there was little change for the better and the discontent of the people continued unabated. All this zulum has now come to an end.

2. Resumption of Mukarraries

Only less reprehensible than the Jagirs was the system of Mukarrari cash grants, given to individuals in lieu of Jagirs which they held previous to such grants or for some specific services, ordinary or political. In practice, this system of

Mukarrari, cash grants to individuals was tantamount to political patronage which, with the inauguration of democratic system of government, was not only out of tune with the new set-up but would encourage an undesirable form of political nepotism.

Under the system of cash Jagirs a very unfair practice was recognized; the Jagirdar had the option of converting the amount of cash assignment into kind and realizing grain from the peasants. He was allowed -/14/6 flat rate per maund of grain as against the market rate of Rs. 10/- per maund in recent times. In case of default on the part of a tenant the tenant had to pay to the Jagirdar the price of the undelivered quantity of grain at the prevailing market rate, *viz.* Rs.10/- and not at the stipulated rate of -/14/6- per maund. It was thus intended to work against the tenant in both ways: (1) whether he delivered the grain as desired by the Jagirdar, in which case he had to sell the grain to the Jagirdar at -/14/6- per maund and bear a heavy loss, or (2) whether he refused to deliver the grain in kind, when he had to pay for it at the much higher market rate of Rs.10/- per maund while the Jagirdar would pay him at the prescribed flat rate of -14/6 per maund. To illustrate: a Jagirdar with a cash Jagir of Rs. 1000 could demand from his tenants as of right 1103 maunds of grain which at the market rate of Rs. 10 per maund would amount to Rs. 11,030. This racket has now been abolished altogether.

It has now been ordered that:

"Mukarraries tenable during the pleasure of His Highness, or held in perpetuity, or in lieu of some political or specific service or during lifetime be resumed with effect from 1st Baisakh 2005, save such Mukarraries as are held by religious institutions, which be continued and paid by the Dharmarth Department who may exercise their discretion as to the continuance or otherwise of such of them as they deem fit, and that those which are held in lieu of the service of 'Zakhbani' and 'Kishtibani' be continued as heretofore."

The total amount thus saved for the Public Treasury by the resumption of such cash grants is Rs. 1,77,921-2-5.

IV

TOWARDS LAND TO THE TILLER

3. Grant of Waste Lands

The most marked feature of Kashmir, as of Indian agriculture, today is the exceedingly great pressure of population on land resulting in the sub-division and fragmentation of the cultivable area into very small and mostly uneconomic holdings. "The numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are mostly in excess of what is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land." And the pressure of population on the land has been increasing during the last half-century owing to:-

- a. the dislocation of the self-sufficient, though primitive, rural economy;
- b. the destruction of the large-scale "Pashmina" industry of Kashmir, known as "dagshala" which forced the bulk of the ruined industrial classes on to the land, thus increasing the numbers of the landless agricultural workers; and
- c. the very low capacity of the few modern, industries that developed during the recent decades to absorb more than a meagre percentage of the population set free from the indigenous industries.

This pressure of population could not be borne by the area under cultivation and had to be supplemented by bringing waste lands (cultivable uncultivated land) under the plough. Raj Tilak Boon No. 4 which gave to the farmer as Shamiat cent per cent area on the basic cultivated land was a welcome and an opportune measure of relief. But in the Jagir villages the full benefit of this boon did not accrue to the farmer, because it was largely nullified by the operation

of the following orders and notifications in favour of Jagirdars and Illaqadars:

- i. Notification S. 58 of 17-18th April 1931.
- ii. Orders Nos. 155-C and 157-C of 14th October 1933.
- iii. Order dated 8th December 1934.

The cumulative effect of all these orders was that:-

- a. all waste-land, after Shamilat had been assigned, was granted to Jagirdars in assami right;
- b. Jagirdars with an annual assignment of Rs. 500/- and above were granted, in proprietary right and as part of his Jagir, a Khudkashti and residential unit, ranging from 200 kanals to 600 kanals for each assignee of Jagir. The allotment for such Khudkasht and residential unit had to be made from Khalsa land before Shamilat was assigned to the farmers of the village.
- c. and all assignees of Jagirs were entitled to enjoy full rights in village lands and not merely in assignment of revenue subject to the requirements of Raj Tilak Boon No: 4 (Shamilat)

The inevitable consequence of these orders was that he farmer of the Jagir lands could not increase his holding by adding to it from the waste land to the extent to which he was entitled under the Raj Tilak Boon. With the abolition of Jagirdari, however, the farmer of Jagir villages has been given the right to increase his holding from the waste land in accordance with the spirit of the Raj Tilak Boon; and an act of justice has been done to him at last.

Under Cabinet Order No. 202-C of 1948

1. all lands granted to Jagirdars or Illaqadars under Para 4 of Notification S.58 of 1931 command orders No: 155-C and 157-C dated 14th October 1933, and

Para 2 of Order dated 8th December 1934 including orcahrds if any shall revert to the Government forthwith ; and

2. all buildings and other structures standing on such lands shall escheat to the Government provided that the owner shall have the option of removing the materials of such structures and buildings from the land within one year from the date of this order.
3. All this land released from the possession of the Jagirdar will now be available for the farmer of the Jagir village; and he will have the right to bring under his cultivation as much land as he possess at present under his own holding.

"New Kashmir" envisages and enunciates a radically new rural economy in which the present land relationships are fundamentally changed for. Unless this is done, ameliorative measures must remain ineffective. Economic remedies like improvements in production technique and agricultural equipment of all kinds, better marketting facilities, and even the consolidation of holdings, are good enough in their own way; but if they are isolated and detached from the basic socio-economic factors which determine the framework within which the cultivator must work, these remedies will not substantially improve the lot of the peasantry.

"New Kashmir", however, recognizes a peaceful "transition period", before planned economy can come into full-swing, a period in which in the words of the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, there will be little avoidable hardship. New Economy obviously entails a inquiry into the systems of land-tenures obtaining in the different parts of the State, collection and analysis of all relevant statistical data, examination of alternative tenures after abolition of all landlordism, and feasible modes of farming. Such enquiries will take time; and changes can come only as conditions

permit and after a competent and thorough investigation so that the old economy is replaced by the new, peacefully and without disruption or waste.

4. Moratorium on Non-commercial Debts

Peasant indebtedness, as indeed the chronic indebtedness of all the poorer classes like artisans, craftsmen, and manual labourers, who live on a low subsistence level, is one of the acutest problems of our country. While there must be legislation to exact, so far as may be, a fair standard of business on the part of the creditor money-lender, legislation by itself does not go far enough.; and the peasant or the manual worker cannot be made debt-free unless his margin of profit increases and unless alternative credit facilities are provided to him. The present emergency, however, called for an immediate grant of temporary relief to all the poorer sections of our population and under Ordinance No.XXI of 2004, all suits or proceedings of the nature of execution or otherwise for the realization of a debt have been stayed for a period of one year against :

- a. an agriculturist as defined in sub-section(1) of Section 2 of the Agriculturist Relief Act, 1983,
- b. weavers of all kinds;
- c. hanjis;
- d. artisans and craftsmen including embroiderers;
- e. manual labourers of all kinds including factory labourers;
- f. any other person or class of persons notified in this behalf by the Head of the Administration;

and

- g. non-commercial debts not exceeding two thousand rupees but shall not include the following:-
- i. a debt due to or from the Government;

- ii. a debt due from one business concern to another;
- iii. a debt taken after the enforcement of this Ordinance in respect of which the debtor specifically binds himself by a declaration before sub-Registrar to repay it within the period this ordinance is in force.

Under the terms of this Ordinance, there has been little interference with commercial debts or ordinary business transactions. Relief has been given only to those who deserve it; those who are placed in a frame-work of helpless economic destitution by society and State and are particularly hard hit at the present time.

5. Stay of Ejectments

Allied to this relief is the relief given under Ordinance No XXIII of 2004 to the tenants residing in the State under which

"all ejectment proceedings pending or to be started or instituted hereafter against a tenant in any Revenue Court, shall be stayed for a period of one year from the date this Ordinance is published in the Government Gazette and no suit shall be entertained or execution proceedings taken out in any revenue court for the ejectment of a tenant during the aforesaid period."

6. Grow More Food

The Agricultural Plan of the National Conference aims at national self sufficiency in essential food-stuffs. Among the means to secure this end is the development of cultivable waste and the plan lays down that "all cultivable waste at present lying fallow should belong to the people". Under Council Order No.48 C of 17th April it has been ordered that

"the cultivation on Galla Batai of the Government lands mentioned below be permitted, subject to the requirements of fodder:-

- i. all nautor Najaiz areas,
- ii. all Kahi Krisham areas,
- iii. all cultivable Khalsa waste lands,
- iv. all areas available for cultivation around Wular, Haigam and Hokarsar lakes and the banks of the Jhelum and other nallahs and streams,
- v. all areas under the control of Military Farms and Rakhs excluding those which yield Nari and other varieties of grass,
- vi. all areas available at the foot of Shikargah hills excepting those strips of lands the cultivation of which may be detrimental to the preservation of game,
- vii. all tracts of waste lands on which there are no trees and which are situated in the demarcated and undemarcated forests,
- viii. all areas reserved for grant to the unemployed graduates and ex-servicemen,
- ix. Khalsa areas illegally occupied by Jagirdars and Chakdars,
- x. all Shamilat lands with the exception of areas reserved for grazing during settlements.

It is estimated that lands of all these descriptions will bring under plough between six and eight lakh kanals of land which, in due course, should yield nine to twelve lakh Khirwars of foodgrains, rice, wheat and maize. It is expected that about one and a half lakh Khirwars of Shali will be produced in the immediate future.

These lands will be allotted, preferably, to agriculturist "Nangar" tenants, the landless agricultural labourers, and to those petty farmers whose holdings are too small for profitable cultivation. This system of allotment will provide both work

and food for thousands of the poorer sections of the rural population who have little or no work at present and subsist on a semi-starvation level.

The food position of the valley has worsened in recent times and the levy of Mujawza has often worked to the detriment of the petty farmer, levied as it was regardless of his bona fide requirements. "New Kashmir" assures to every peasant family" the right to maintenance from village produce", and to every consumer in the city of Srinagar and every urban townships foodstuffs at reasonable prices. The grow More food campaign is expected to relieve the petty producer as well as to help the urban consumer to an appreciable extent by ensuring rations to him on a more liberal scale.

V

TOWARDS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

7. Tehsil and District Councils

The organs of the State power according to "New Kashmir" shall be the peoples' Panchayats. In the time of present emergency, when the enemy is still in occupation of parts of our territories and when all energies have to bend towards fighting him, it is not feasible to have elections. Nevertheless, in view of the change in the constitution of the State and conferment of full powers to the popular leaders, it was necessary to associate representatives of the rural population with the various branches of the administration in the country, to ensure a greater degree of co-operation between the officers and the people of the countryside. In these times of stress and when the energies of the people must be canalized for quick execution of order, this mutual co-operation alone can guarantee the implementing of Government policy and programmes, the redress of legitimate grievances, and the removal of defects in the smooth working of official machinery. Under Orders, No. 204-C of 1948, Tehsil

Councils have been set up in every Tehsil with the National Conference Tehsil president as its Chairman, the Tehsildar as its convener, and a maximum number of five others as members. The Council shall meet at least once a month at Tehsil Headquarters but in case of emergency, meetings can be called oftener on the requisition of the chairman and the convener. These councils shall supervise generally the execution of Government orders, in conformity with the Government policy; but the members individually shall not interfere with the execution of orders and the normal functions of executive authority. For, if this interference were permitted, no Government executive would function smoothly or impartially. The District Councils will consist of all Tehsil presidents and the Tehsildars of the district with the District president of the National Conference as chairman and the Wazir Wazarat as the convener. The members of the Tehsil Council will for the present, be selected by Hon'ble the Revenue Minister on the recommendation of the General Secretary of the National Conference, District and Tehsil presidents, who can also recommend persons not on the membership register of the National Conference. Six such Tehsil Councils have already been formed for the Tehsils of Anantnag, Baramulla, Pulwama, Kulgam, Handwara and Badgam.

8. Election of Zaildars and Numbardars

In furtherance of the aim of giving the people an unrestricted right to choose their own representatives for all types of representative institutions, from the village unit upwards, the Jammu and Kashmir Government have, by a Cabinet decision No: 3-2/J dated 20th March 1948 thrown open to election all Zaildar and Numbardaships in the State. Being the two key positions in the rural administration, they had degenerated into a vested interest making for corruption, tyranny and exploitation of the poor peasantry. The posts were handed down for father to son, and so long as their incumbents, the nominees of an irresponsible bureaucracy,

worked as their obedient and willing agents, they had little to fear for all their shady acts of exploitation. The throwing open of Zaildar and Numbardarships to election has been, therefore, a measure not only of political significance but also of immense relief to the rural population. Apart from training them in the fundamentals of democracy, the measure is calculated to convert Zaildar and Numbardarships into useful public institutions. It has also had a real psychological effect on the people who have been helped to realize that power has actually passed into their hands.

Thus has beginning been made in bringing relief to the people who bore unbearable burdens till they could no longer bear them in dumb fortitude; in whose eyes there came a gleam of hope when, inspired by their leader, Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, they straightened their backs and began to march forward under his leadership to freedom and a new Kashmir.

36

Kashmir—Agricultural Statistics

I
Districtwise Farm Characteristics

S. No.	Name of district	%to NAS area under orcha- rds	%to irrigated area by crops	%of area under.cer- eals to gross cropped area	Gross cropped area (Hectares)	Net area sown (Hect- ares)
1.	Anantnag	5.21	75.62	85.41	145486	129402
2	Baramulla	10.36	48.39	78.65	130926	130455
3	Srinagar	5.27	64.93	57.04	84701	79388

Source: Complied from Digest of Statistics. 1970-71, 1973-74 and 1979-80, District Statistical Hand Books, Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics, Planning Deptt. J and K Government.

II
Tehsil-wise Farm Characteristics

Name of		%to NAS		Percentage of	Gross	Net
District	Tehsil	area under orchards	irrigated area by crops	are under cereals to gross cropped area	cropped area (Hect.)	area sown. (Hect.)
Anantnag	Anantnag	3.98	69.15	88.68	33379	28539
"	Dooru	NA	68.47	92.12	9309	9162
"	Kulgam	7.85	70.45	91.19	29868	27470
"	Pahalgam	1.81	67.87	60.70	6729	5785
"	Pulwama	6.64	65.30	73.57	35246	30489
"	Shupian	5.14	62.41	89.55	19866	18929
"	Tral	13.09	66.54	75.43	11089	9028
Baramulla	Baramulla	0.83	40.02	75.03	24663	24525
"	Bandipur	5.64	64.97	87.32	8526	8482
"	Handwara	13.86	41.30	79.63	21888	21888
"	Kupwara	3.79	55.63	94.42	20069	20069
"	Sopore	23.87	55.90	62.47	22024	22024
"	Sonawari	8.83	39.65	66.5	18165	18165
"	Tangmarg	4.88	66.22	91.26	6617	6327
"	Uri	0.08	43.04	97.96	6317	6317
"	Kernah	-	42.63	98.57	2658	2658
Srinagar	Srinagar	14.48	68.97	58.66	12595	11265
"	Ganderbal	2.96	71.23	88.91	15968	14899
"	Badgam	8.20	69.42	92.95	20497	18941
"	Chadoora	2.21	45.90	78.28	21069	19899
"	Beerwa	2.86	75.77	85.50	14572	14384

III

Number and percentage distribution of farms, area under operation, average size holding and per capita area under paddy by size of operational holding under paddy crops of sample paddy farms:
(Area in acres)

S.No	Farm size	No. of farms	area under operation	percentage of area under paddy to gross cropped area	average size of holding	per capita area under paddy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	less than 2.50	90 (51.43)	128.76 (20.94)	65.79	1.43	0.22
2.	2.50-5.00	43 (24.17)	136.20 (22.16)	67.02	3.17	0.29
3.	5.00-7.50	24 (13.71)	133.01 (21.64)	58.35	5.54	0.56
4.	7.50-10.00	2 (1.14)	8.75 (1.42)	61.00	4.37	0.09
5.	10.00-12.50	4 (2.29)	34.50 (5.61)	56.00	8.62	2.46
6.	12.50 & Above	12 (6.86)	173.52 (28.23)	53.58	14.46	0.59
All Sizes		All Sizes (100)	624.75 (100)	58.00	3.51	0.36

Figures in parentheses are percentages.

IV

Number and percentage distribution of farms, area under operation, size of holding and per capita orchard by the size class of operational holding under orchards : (area in acres)

S.No	Farm size	area under operation	No. of farms	percentage of area under orchards to gross cropped area	average size of holding	per capita under paddy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	2.50	43.88 (16.57)	33 (42.31)	40.28	1.33	0.69
2.	2.50-50	90.37 (34.13)	31 (39.73)	45.65	2.92	0.44
3.	5.0-7.50	47.00 (17.75)	8 (10.26)	58.01	5.88	0.12
4.	7.50-10.00	22.50 (8.51)	3 (3.85)	47.05	7.50	0.24
5.	10.00-12.50	10.00 (3.78)	1 (1.28)	41.37	10.00	0.09
6.	12.50-and above	51.00 (19.26)	2 (2.56)	48.26	25.50	0.22
All Classes		264.75 (100)	78 (100)	41.08	3.40	0.24

Figures in parentheses are percentages.

V

**Percentage changes in cropping in pattern in Jammu and Kashmir
State during 1950-51 to 1979-80**

Year	Food Cereals	Fruit Vegetables	Oilseeds	Others	Gross	Net area	Percentage of crop in Kashmir		
					cropped area	sown area	rabi	kharif	total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1950-51	86.95	1.76	5.58	5.71	100	93.26	—	—	—
1960-61	90.80	2.55	3.95	2.70	100	89.37	—	—	—
1970-71	89.52	2.99	2.99	4.50	100	78.61	11.56	88.44	100
1979-80	64.26	8.76	26.98	—	100	70.65	29.82	70.18	100

VI

Cropping Intensity with Yearwise Changes, Irrigation Intensity and Farm Size in Kashmir Region

S.No.	Farm size (acres)	1970-71		1979-80		Year	Intensity of cropping
		intensity of irrigation	intensity of cropping	intensity of irrigation	intensity of cropping		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	<5.50	115	123	131.28	129.40	1967-68	122
2.	5.0-10.0	123	129	135.00	131.49	1968-69	124
3.	10.0-12.50	126	139	155.34	147.76	1969-70	123
4.	12.50 & above	119	124	161.49	141.55	1970.71	126
5.	-	-	-	-	-	1978-79	141.55

Source: Census of Agriculture, 1970-71 and the Sample Survey 1978-79.

VII

Distribution of Expenditure per acre on Human Labour and Cost of Labour Operationwise According to size of Operational holding of sample Orchard farms

Farm size acres	Expenditure on human labour per acre	Average wage rate per day	Operationwise expenditure on human labour (Rs. per acre)						Total
			Bedding/ manuring trimming fertilising	Spry- aing	Shak- dar opera- tion		harve- sting		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
<2.50	1383.34 (17.31)	13.00 (24.72)	312.02 (24.72)	134.00 (9.68)	534.30 (38.63)	128.26 (9.27)	244.76 (17.70)	1383.34 (100)	
2.50- 5.00	1260.58 (32.49)	13.12 (19.37)	244.26 (10.09)	127.21 (42.08)	530.32 (8.98)	113.27 (8.98)	245.52 (19.48)	1260.58 (100)	
5.00- 7.50	1244.55 (16.68)	13.25 (18.38)	288.81 (9.64)	120.00 (42.31)	526.60 (9.61)	119.57 (9.61)	249.57 (20.06)	1244.55 (100)	
7.50- 10.00	1175.60 (7.54)	12.58 (19.28)	226.67 (9.89)	116.27 (38.73)	455.33 (9.98)	117.33 (9.98)	260.00 (22.12)	1175.60 (100)	
10.00- 12.50	1413.0 (4.04)	13.08 (19.53)	276.00 (9.34)	132.00 (43.53)	615.00 (8.49)	120.00 (8.49)	270.00 (19.11)	1413.00 (100)	
12.50 & above	1507.98 (21.95)	13.40 (18.53)	297.53 (9.33)	140.70 (42.91)	647.06 (10.01)	150.98 (10.01)	295.51 (19.22)	1507.98 (100)	
All sizes	1324.27 (100)	13.14 (19.95)	264.22 (9.73)	128.91 (41.50)	549.63 (9.43)	124.74 (9.43)	256.77 (19.39)	1324.27 (100)	

Figures in parentheses are percentages.

VIII

Distribution of Fixed Cost, Variable Cost and Cost Per Quintal of Paddy According to Farm Size of Sample Paddy Farms (Rs.)

Sl. No.	Farm size acres	Percentage to the total			Fc/Vc ratio	Cost per quintal
		Fixed cost	Variable cost	Total cost		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	<2.50	35.09	64.91	100	0.54	98.10
2.	2.50-5.00	36.27	63.73	100	0.57	78.13
3.	5.00-7.50	41.03	58.97	100	0.60	77.01
4.	7.50-10.00	41.29	58.71	100	0.70	164.92
5.	10.00-12.50	37.08	62.92	100	0.58	110.42
6.	12.50 & above	29.67	70.33	100	0.42	101.27
	Average all sizes	35.34	64.66	100	0.55	91.37

IX

Zero Order Correlation Matrix For Gross Returns of Sample Paddy Farms

Land (acres)	Seed (Rs.)	Human labour (days)	Bullock & labour (pair days)	Manures & fertilisers (Rs.)	Plant Protec- tion & tractor use (Rs.)	Gross Retu- ns (Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	Y
Small Farms						
X ₁	1.00	0.80	0.79	0.31	0.68	0.19
X ₂		1.00	0.62	0.12	0.53	0.29
						0.64
						0.47

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	Y
X ₃		1.00	0.49	0.51	0.09	0.62
X ₄			1.00	0.37	-0.40	0.27
X ₅				1.00	0.22	0.44
X ₆					1.00	0.14
Y						1.00

Medium Farms							
X ₁	1.00	0.71	0.77	-0.04	0.69	0.41	0.80
X ₂		1.00	0.25	-0.54	0.54	0.48	0.50
X ₃			1.00	0.28	0.54	0.24	0.68
X ₄				1.00	0.04	-0.60	-0.08
X ₅					1.00	0.20	0.47
X ₆						1.00	0.45
Y							1.00

Large Farms							
X ₁	1.00	0.80	0.78	0.32	0.79	0.23	0.57
X ₂		1.00	0.73	0.26	0.70	0.50	0.68
X ₃			1.00	0.49	0.77	0.03	0.32
X ₄				1.00	0.23	-0.09	-0.01
X ₅					1.00	0.34	0.60
X ₆						1.00	0.49
Y							1.00

All Farms							
X ₁	1.00	0.73	0.76	0.02	0.56	0.08	0.80
X ₂		1.00	0.76	-0.01	0.49	0.21	0.80

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	Y
X_3		1.00	0.41	0.22	-0.06	0.65
X_4			1.00	-0.52	-0.18	-0.10
X_5				1.00	0.25	0.65
X_6					1.00	0.29
Y						1.00

 X

Zero Order Correlation Matrix For Gross Returns of Sample Orchard Farms

<i>Land (acres)</i>	<i>Human labour (days)</i>	<i>Pesticides (Rs.)</i>	<i>Manures & fertilizers (Rs.)</i>	<i>Gross returns (Rs.)</i>
X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	Y
Small Farms				
X_1	1.00	0.79	0.63	0.72
X_2		1.00	0.56	0.45
X_3			1.00	1.00
X_4				0.73
Y				1.00
Large Farms				
X_1	1.00	0.60	0.80	0.802
X_2		1.00	0.55	0.34
X_3			1.00	1.00
X_4				0.54
Y				1.00



37

Kashmir Situation—Public Employment in J & K

I. Employees Working in State EBF Depts as on 1.7.87

S. No.	Category of Service	Hindus (%)	Muslims (%)	Sikhs (%)	Others (%)	Total
1.	Gazetted	6307	5140	717	159	12323
2.	Non-Gazetted	49705	73780	5555	2136	131176
3.	Inferior	14370 (29.4)	32011 (65.5)	1010 (2.1)	1469 (3.0)	48860 (1.9)
	Total	7038	110931	7282	3764	192359
	Percentage:	(36.6)	(57.7)	(3.8)	(1.9)	
	% of Population	32.2	64.2	2.2	1.3	

II. Employees Working in State Corporation/Undertaking/ Autonomous Board/Banks

S. No.	Category of Service	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Others	Total
1.	Gazetted	1115	1160	104	2	2381
2.	Non-Gazetted	(46.8) 6201	(48.7) 11065	(4.4) 1123	(0.1) 110	18499
3.	Class IV	3082 (31.0)	6518 (65.6)	272 (2.8)	66 (0.6)	9928
	Total	10,398 (33.7)	18,743 (60.8)	1499 (4.9)	178 (0.6)	30,818

III. Employees in the Central Government Establishment as on 1.1.1989

S. No.	Category of Service	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Others	Total
1.	Officers	1613 (83.7)	1333 (6.9)	161 (8.3)	21 (1.1)	1928
2.	Non-Gazetted Staff	4043 (79.2)	662 (13.0)	320 (6.3)	75 (1.5)	5100
3.	Class IV	5622 (72.9)	1212 (15.7)	550 (7.1)	331 (4.3)	7715
	Total	11278	20073	1031	427	14,743
	Percentage:	(76.5)	(13.6)	(7.0)	(2.9)	

(Radiance Views Weekly, April 29, May 5, 1990)



